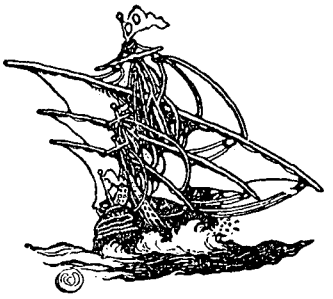
THE SURVEY

MIDMONTHLY

JUNE 15, 1925



What Price Safety?
Alice Hamilton, M.D.

Dynamics for Dreams
Ross W. Sanderson

At the End of the Road
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Analytic Index to This Number

1. Child Welfare:
   Malnutrition in orphanages, p. 355
   Handling the problem child, p. 350
   Care of the preschool child, p. 362
2. Family Welfare:
   Care of the aged, p. 340ff
   Old age pensions, p. 341ff
3. The Law and Lawbreakers:
   Methods and theories of criminology, p. 364
4. The Conquest of Disease:
   Prevention of tuberculosis, p. 337
   A rounded health program, p. 337
   Self-supporting clinic for those of moderate means, p. 337
   Industrial tuberculosis, p. 353ff
5. The Promotion of Health:
   Ethyl gasoline, p. 33ff
   Conquest of underweight in orphanages, p. 355
   Cornell pay clinic, p. 337
   The National Tuberculosis and Health Association extends its field of endeavor, p. 337
6. Mental Hygiene:
   Mental hygiene and malnutrition, p. 335
   Mental tests for typographers, p. 360
   Unadjusted children, p. 350
7. Organizing Social Forces:
   Proposal for future handling of occupational hazards, p. 334
   The non-voter, p. 364
   Community chests, p. 344
8. Town Planning:
   Garden cities, p. 337
   Problems of growing cities, p. 347
9. The City Community:
   Recreation workers, p. 346
   Social elements in religious education, p. 335
10. The Country Community:
    Organized dairy farmers, p. 357
11. Immigration and Race Relations:
    Psychology of race relations, p. 363
12. School and Community:
    Visiting teachers, p. 350ff
    Public control of the schools, p. 348
    Vocational high schools, p. 352
13. Education Outside the School:
    Religious education, p. 337ff
    Adult education, p. 348ff
    An educational publishing venture, p. 352
14. Industrial Conditions:
    The industrial hazard of tetra-ethyl gasoline, p. 333ff
    Industrial tuberculosis, p. 353ff
    Causes of dependency, p. 342
15. Industrial Relations:
    Cooperative banks, p. 338
    Partnership in industry, p. 357
    Stock-ownership plans, p. 359
17. Peace and International Relations:
    The League of Nations, p. 365
18. Motives and Ideals:
    The newer religious education, p. 335
    The case worker's bookshelf, p. 361

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Among the leaders of the discussion will be Otto S. Beyer, Jr., John Brophy, H. S. Raushenbush, James Simpson (Vice-President Canadian Trades and Labor Congress), Judson C. Dickerman, James H. Maurer, Cornelius M. Sheehan, Delos F. Wilcox, and others. Morris Hillquit will debate "Public vs. Private Ownership" with Arthur Williams, former president of the National Electric Light Association.

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A Glimpse Ahead

WHILE Philadelphia is preparing in its own way for a 1926 commemoration of the day that made Independence Hall famous, New England's turn for sesquicentennial jubilation has already come. The skirmishes of Lexington and Concord, Paul Revere's ride, the encounter at Bunker Hill—all the episodes of 1775 are being recounted this year. There are two ways to celebrate a historical anniversary. One is to retrace the original stream of events, evoking by pageantry and ballad and legend the color of the older days, and reliving, so far as may be, the past. The other—and a not less intriguing one—is to retrace the stream but to ask at the same time what water has run through it in the long intervening years, and what springs of creative energy still fill the old channels.

THIS The Survey is attempting, in a modest way, to do in its July number. Take these New England villages whose place in the page of history is so large, and whose contributions to the spiritual history of America are so significant. They are remembering their past; what of their present and future? Are they still channels of vigorous civic life? Have they less dramatic, but no less genuine contributions to make to the story of present progress?

EDWARD T. HARTMAN is busy under the dome of the Massachusetts State House advising New England villages—and cities—that want to recapture some of the traditional Colonial sense of design in fresh town planning projects. He writes, under the title A Yankee Renascence, of this and other evidences of a recrudescense of civic pride and foresight in the smaller Yankee communities.

PIE and E Pluribus—under this heading James Phinney Monroe, another Bostonian, contributes a word of comment on the pervading and continuing influence of certain Yankee institutions. And W. E. Greeley examines The Lexington of 1925 and finds a willingness to experiment and to plan freshly even in so reminiscent an institution as a village churchyard. Frank E. Waugh, professor in the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and known widely as an interpreter of the fruits of New England culture in both the spiritual and horticultural sense, presents the town meeting in vignette as a rather friendly and good-natured exhibition of democracy, for all its hoary traditions.

PATRICK GEDDES, father of regional planning, wrote in the June Graphic of The Valley-Plan of Civilization, and traced the sequence of primitive occupations down the typical hillside slope from the crest-line to the seashore. In the July number he takes the same suggestive plan of analysis of civilized occupations and applies it to the structure of the city.

ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE is so well known by Survey readers as a friendly and understanding interpreter of girls—not to mention their beaux and husbands—that the announcement of an article from her on Petting, to be published in the July Graphic, needs no elaboration. It will deal with insight and sympathy with a phenomenon which is too common to be ignored and too human to be theorized over.

SOME two hundred titles are included in The Survey's book display at the National Conference of Social Work now in session at Denver. Alongside the new books—a good crop of them this year—are the old stand-bys which each new group of members buys and reads and marks and learns and perhaps—who knows?—inwardly digests. The list is classified under these headings: Books of General Interest, Social Work and Sociology, Health (general), Mental Hygiene and Behavior, Social Hygiene, Child Welfare, The Community and Recreation, Probation — Delinquency — Prisons, Race Relations, Industry. Anyone who is not to be at Denver may have a copy of the list for the asking of The Survey's Book Department, 112 East 19 Street, New York City. The well-to-do are asked to send a 2-cent stamp. But postage will be furnished free to any case registered in a recognized Confidential Exchange.

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THE SURVEY

Midmonthly Number

Vol. LIV, No. 6 June 15, 1925

CONTENTS

What Price Safety? - - *Alice Hamilton, M.D.* 333
Dynamic for Dreams - - *Ross W. Sanderson* 335
THE COMMON WELFARE - - - - - - - 337
SOCIAL PRACTICE - - - - - - - - - 339
At the End of the Road, *Alexander Johnson*—Pensions—On and Off, *Abraham Epstein*—Who Are the Aged Poor?
COMMUNITIES - - - - - - - - - - - 344
Community Chest Corollaries, *Mary S. Brisley*—As Cities Grow
EDUCATION - - - - - - - - - - - - 348
Adult Education and Our Civilization, *Joseph K. Hart*—Tar Baby and the Lammers, *Bertha Ferguson*
HEALTH - - - - - - - - - - - - - 353
Tuberculosis in Dusty Trades, *C.—E. A. Winslow, Dr. P.H.*—Bringing Orphanage Children into the Safety Weight Zone, *W.R.P. Emerson, M.D.*
INDUSTRY - - - - - - - - - - - - - 357
How Sheffield Farms Does It, *George W. Alger*—Stock-Buying Employes, *Edward A. Norman*
BOOKS IN OUR ALCOVE - - - - - - - 361
COMMUNICATIONS - - - - - - - - - 366
SHOPTALK - - - - - - - - - - - - - 370

The Gist of It

BY a typically American process in which opportunism, trial and error have taken the place of social foresight we have worked our way toward the formulation of a sound public policy in regard to the manufacture of tetraethyl lead gasoline. Dr. Hamilton attended the conference in Washington called by the surgeon-general of the Public Health Service and reports it for The Survey (p. 333), taking occasion to go beyond the subject of immediate controversy into the broader question of how we can protect ourselves from similar hazards in the future. Dr. Hamilton, well-known to Survey readers (a recent major article from her dealt with the dangers of the felt hat industry, February 1, 1924) has been for six years assistant professor of industrial medicine in the Harvard Medical School.

FROM the genial pen of Ross W. Sanderson of Wichita there have come so many articles in the course of the past winter that he hardly needs further introduction here for his brisk review of the new religious education (p 335), in which he is devotedly interested. It may be added, however, that the present article grew directly out of an editorial paragraph in a recent issue of The Survey to which Mr. Sanderson took exception.

BETWEEN All Souls' and Candlemas it may be all right to say "Old men for the chimney corner". But in the mellow summer days there is too sharp a contrast between the rocking-chair on the porch of the Home and the garden to potter in when the home has a small "h". So it is not amiss to give over the Social Practice Department this month largely to a discussion of the care of the aged.

ALEXANDER JOHNSON, veteran though he is (his first contribution to The Survey was published 35 years ago) has no place as a person in those pages, but as a social worker he leads off with a general statement of the choices which society faces in providing for its elders (p. 339). It is taken from the foreword of the report on the Care of the Aged made by a conference on that subject called by the Cleveland Welfare Federation. Mr. Epstein, who follows, is executive secretary of the Pennsylvania Old Age Assistance Commission (p. 341).

FOR four years Miss Brisley, who writes of certain incipient maladjustments in the family of social agencies in community chest cities (p. 344) was county worker or district secretary with the Minneapolis Family Welfare Association. Before that she had been executive of the Public Welfare Association of Madison; since that she has been director of the Louisville School of Social Work.

WHEN the final article of Dr. Hart's series on adult education appears (p. 348) its author will be hard at the study of adult education in England and northern Europe. Bertha Ferguson's story of the visiting teacher a-visiting (p. 350) is an interesting counterpart to A Visiting Teacher's Day in the April Graphic.

DR. W. R. P. EMERSON, President of the Nutrition Clinic for Delicate Children in Boston, whose book list on Nutrition appeared in The Survey April 15, 1924, has said before in the pages of The Survey that he finds it primarily important in a campaign against malnutrition among children to deal directly with the parents. Here he gives us the result of his work in orphanages where, without such cooperation, he has achieved among certain groups the practical elimination of underweight.

WHAT happens when—in the interest of industrial "stability"—corporations offer stock to their employes is not always what the corporations hope. Mr. Norman, who gathers up the evidence (p. 359) is a volunteer associate in The Survey's Industry Department who studied the work of a fruit-growers' cooperative in the issue of February 15, 1925.

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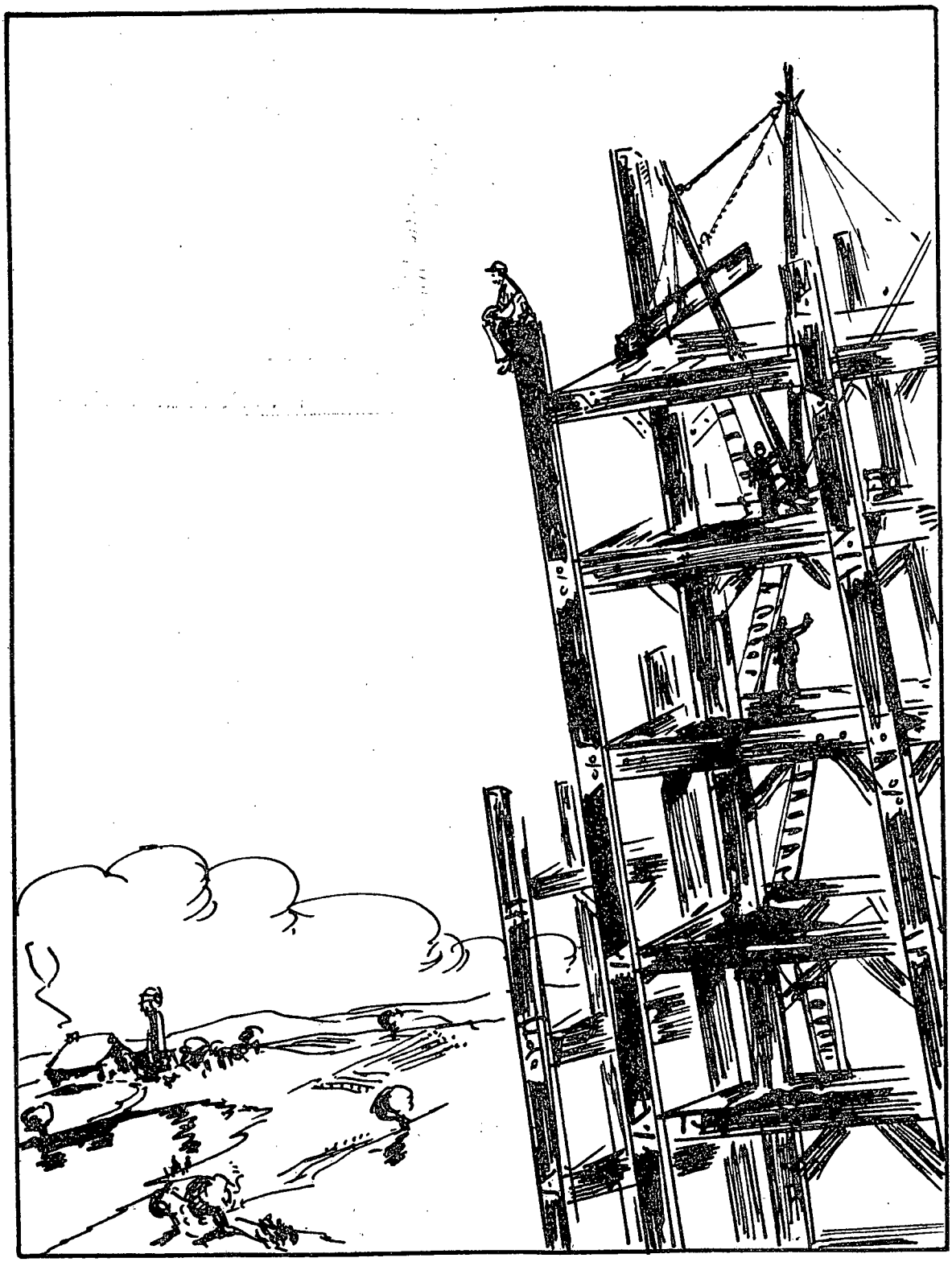

By Hendrik Willem Van Loon

HOLIDAYS

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THE SURVEY
MIDMONTHLY

June 15
1925

Volume LIV
No. 6

What Price Safety?

Tetra-ethyl Lead Reveals a Flaw in Our Defenses

By Alice Hamilton, M. D.

MANY of us were reminded, as we gathered in Washington on May 20 to discuss the dangers of tetra-ethyl lead gasoline, of the days during the war when men engaged in the manufacture of explosives were brought together with the guardians of public health to confer about the protection of munition workers from trade poisons. But this meeting called by the surgeon-general of the United States Public Health Service was much more important than those war-time efforts and far more authoritative. To anyone who has followed the course of industrial medicine for as much as ten years, this conference marks a great progress from the days when we used to meet the underlings of the great munition makers and coax and plead with them to put in the precautionary measures which we had learned from the British, knowing that we had no authority behind us, that we were not even well-known experts, and that we had no access to that powerful weapon, publicity. This time it was possible to bring together in the office of the surgeon-general the foremost men in industrial medicine and public health and the men who are in real authority in industry, and to have a blaze of publicity turned on their deliberations.

It makes one hope that the day is not far off when we shall take the next step and investigate a new danger in industry before it is put into use, before any fatal harm has been done to workmen. As Dr. Haven Emerson said to us in Washington, we hope that some way will be found to institute such inquiries at the beginning, so that after this, animal experiments will precede not follow industrial experiments, and the question will be treated as one belonging to the public health from the very outset, not after its importance has been demonstrated on the bodies of workmen.

It was evident at once that the conference was between two groups. The first was composed of those who held that the use of tetra-ethyl lead in gasoline is of great public advantage because of the conservation of gasoline which it makes possible, with them a number of laboratory men and public health officials who believe that all evidence of harm to human beings from the distribution and use of ethyl gasoline is lacking after two years of use in at least 20,000 filling stations and that animal experiments have shown no lead poisoning from exposure to exhaust gases. Opposed to these were physiologists, toxicologists, physicians and public health officials who maintain that no conclusive investigation has ever been made, that the animal experiments are insufficient and that even if they were conclusive they could not be accepted as applying without reserve to human beings. Although ethyl gasoline has been used extensively, yet as they pointed out, only a small group of men exposed to it have been examined thoroughly. Before the danger can possibly be estimated it would be necessary to examine large groups of men exposed to the exhaust gases of motor cars and to the lead dust, formed when the gasoline is burned, and encountered by garage workers in repairing or cleaning engines.

There was much careful and interesting discussion of the studies that have thus far been made. It was evident that the experts were not willing to accept the results obtained by the Bureau of Mines or the University of Cincinnati, one quite damaging feature being present in both these series, namely that lead was found in control animals and in the discharges from the human beings used as controls as well as in the test animals and the men exposed to ethyl gasoline. This error is not true of the experiments made by Dr. Frederick B. Flinn of Columbia, the publication of whose report is awaited with great interest. Dr. J. C. Aub of Harvard, the foremost experimenter in lead in the country, insisted that lead is not found in normal human beings or in animals.

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Turning to the evidence with regard to human beings, the data were found to be deplorably scanty except with regard to the acknowledged danger of producing and handling pure tetra-ethyl lead. About this there was no controversy. The problem had to do with the danger to the garage worker and user of ethyl gasoline. Basing his calculation on the statement of C. F. Kettering, president of the Ethyl Gasoline Corporation, as to the amount of ethyl gasoline which he estimated would be used in a year, Dr. Aub announced that some fifty thousand tons of lead dust would be scattered over the whole country in a year, certainly a far from negligible prospect. Dr. Yandell Henderson of Yale stated that according to his calculations as much as one half a milligram of lead could be breathed in the course of a day from the dust from crowded city streets, which would be equal to one milligram per gallon of water in the city water supply, a condition which no sanitarium would think of allowing. Dr. David L. Edsall, dean of Harvard Medical School, summed up the clinical side, saying that he believed the manufacture of tetra-ethyl lead could be made safe, as the manufacture of many very poisonous substances has been made safe, but that the problem of its use was much greater. Here it will be necessary to protect the public against slow, cumulative lead poisoning. The fact that no such cases are being reported at present is no proof of the lack of danger. Early cases of chronic lead poisoning are seldom diagnosed correctly unless the man is engaged in a well-known lead industry. Of the hundred men under observation in the University of Cincinnati, eighteen have developed symptoms of lead poisoning since last August—a very high rate. Dr. Edsall quoted a report of Sayers of the Bureau of Mines to the effect that when ethyl gasoline evaporates, 10 per cent of the residue consists of lead. Now there is overwhelming evidence from industry that lead dust causes lead poisoning; there is no question as to the hazard. The only question is as to its extent, and before we can answer that, there must be a large number of observations on human beings carried on over a long period. It will always be difficult to control this hazard because the work is not carried on in factories which can be inspected and controlled but in innumerable garages much harder to keep clean than a factory.

Dr. M. D. Touart of the Reconstruction Hospital, New York, held that the burden of proof should be on the industry to demonstrate that ethyl gasoline was not harmful instead of on the medical profession to show that it was. Dr. Henderson of Yale spoke in much the same vein, saying that as far back as March 1922, the companies knew that they were using a substance which was probably very toxic and that, having neglected to thoroughly investigate it before they exposed human beings to its effects, it was not too much to ask them now to suspend its use until the investigation has been made. To this, F. A. Howard of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana responded with an eloquent defense of ethyl gasoline as a discovery of the utmost value to the public, necessary for the conservation of motor gasoline not only in this country but in Europe. The industrialists were not willing to abandon it on theoretical grounds only. They must have facts and so far they believed that all the facts were in their favor. However, they were more than ready to continue withholding ethyl gasoline from ordinary retail distribution until the question at issue had been decided.

The resolution which brought the conference to a close was passed unanimously. It requested the surgeon-general to appoint a committee of seven, consisting of experts in physiology, toxicology, industrial medicine and public health, to carry on the necessary investigation of the dangers connected with the distribution and use of ethyl gasoline. Grace Burnham of the Workers' Health Bureau of New York city proposed an amendment which was accepted, to the effect that the inquiry should be paid for by public funds only and that the results should be presented to a conference called by the surgeon-general on which labor should be represented.

I AM not one of those who believe that the use of this leaded gasoline can ever be made safe. No lead industry has ever, even under the strictest control, lost all its dangers. Where there is lead some case of lead poisoning sooner or later develops, even under the strictest supervision, and it is obvious that there cannot be strict supervision of all garages, private and public, all over the country. Thousands of men and boys will be tinkering with motor engines and scattering finely powdered poisonous lead dust about, and it is inconceivable that lead poisoning should not follow. Our best hope is that some non-poisonous substitute for tetra-ethyl lead be found. The chemists assured us that there was no prospect of this, but it has happened before. "Phossy jaw" was the most dreaded of industrial diseases for almost a century and it continued to appear in spite of the most elaborate precautions in match factories. Then a French chemist found that phosphorus sesquisulphide, which is not poisonous, would do the work as well. In the early days of the war, the British found that the "dope" they used on their battle planes was causing a serious sickness among the men and women who spread it over the wings. The record of sickness and death was not so great as our record from tetra-ethyl lead, some 92 cases with 12 deaths as against our 149 with 12 or 15 deaths; the British were faced with a terrible emergency; and the danger was one which affected only a few working people and not the general public. Yet, even so, the Ministry of Munitions set its chemists to work to find a substitute for the poisonous solvent, tetrachlorethane, and in January 1917, the Ministry was able to state in answer to a question in Parliament that a satisfactory substitute had been found and from that time on no poisonous "dope" would be used.

A suggestion as to the future handling of industrial problems of this sort which appeals very much to me is that of Dr. Haven Emerson. He asked for a federal clearing house for the new hazards in industry or in public health which come with the introduction of new and comparatively unknown substances. Perhaps a new department of the Public Health Service or the Bureau of Standards might undertake to test on animals a proposed innovation before it is introduced into actual use and allowed to endanger human life or even human health. This would really not be a new departure for the federal government. It would be quite in line with the experiments made by the Bureau of Standards to determine the value of certain substances in industrial processes and it would also be in line with the work of the Pure Food Department of the Bureau of Chemistry. That would seem to be the next step to be taken after the conclusion of the work of the surgeon-general's committee on lead gasoline.

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Dynamic For Dreams

By Ross W. Sanderson

Real religious education is a great risk. It may turn the world upside down.

CAN John Jones, aged ten, repeat the ten commandments backwards? The newer religious education cares very little. Is John Jones getting ready—no, is John Jones, aged ten, *now* doing his bit to rebuild the world? That is the question which the newer religious education asks. The John Joneses and the Mary Smiths who are six or eight years older may be discussing "petting" and such like seemingly trivial matters. Out of it, by the route from where they are, they arrive at respect for personality. Thence comes social justice, brotherhood, an appreciation of basic values, a sense of the presence of God, spiritual life.

The newer religious education has once and for all abandoned the effort to indoctrinate anybody. It puts little or no store by information for information's sake. It has definitely turned its back on the old certitudes. In any way when scientific men find that so-called "hard facts have gone blooey," and any working hypothesis is out of date in a decade, religious educators find that religious experience must be considered in terms of process, not of arrival; of increasing satisfactions due to integrating individual centers of personality rather than of permanent states, mental or emotional, once for all attained; of desires and skills that make toward a reconstructed social order rather than a mere sense of having egoistically salvaged from the moral wreckage of the cosmos.

All this would doubtedless sound a bit highbrow to the seventeen-year-old assistant to the superintendent of the primary department on Main Street. But it was the commonplace of the presumptions at the recent meeting of the Religious Education Association. To be sure more than one minister after listening hour after hour to a discussion of "What is a valid religious experience for today?" felt constrained to cry out, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him." But this was only the intellectual gasping for breath on the part of those so accustomed to the humdrum valleys of educational service that they did not adjust themselves readily to the rarefied atmosphere of the higher summits of educational vision.

Shall we use text books in religious education? Yes, as a rough guide, as a source for types of materials. But as measures of material to be gotten over, no. As trail-blazers in territories worth investigating, as hints on the part of the more experienced to those launching out on new seas, by all means. As medicine boxes containing prepared capsules of educational specifics, one or more to be taken at each session, no.

The project principle (not method) holds the boards. We are to start with the children where they are. Not that we are to adjust each new experience to the apperceptive mass which represents the contemporary deposit of the past in the life of the individual. Not that at all, but rather that all that has ever been shall be reorganized or at least revalued in the light of the glorious discoveries of the present. It is not so much that we travel backward to some Ur of the Chaldees to find our starting point with Abraham, but rather that every voyager of old is a contemporary of ours. "The river of God is Halstead Street."

Obviously what counts most in such a process, as in any other, is the teacher. Have we teachers who are themselves opulent personalities, richly prepared, persons of profound conviction? If so, they will use this new technique as a duck's foot uses the water, for a stepping stone. Even with the old "uniform" Sunday School lesson the real teacher managed to make the class hour life-centered. At best curricula can only accentuate this tendency to put creative experience at the heart of the educative process.

"PROJECTS" are not merely handwork and mechanical "expressional activities." Projects include all efforts to understand, to appreciate, to accomplish, to reconstruct. In a city church a group of young women provides insulin for another young woman who is the sole support of her mother and five children. Thus they learn the basic meanings of health, employment, economic status, scientific progress and a host of other things. Thirty-five other projects are carried on in this same church in cooperation with the United Charities. Thus does the story of the Good Samaritan adapt itself to the complicated social highways of our modern life. *Religious* education, mind you, yet social also. And who shall say that insulin thus provided may not bring new meaning into the concept of the miraculous, new sense of mystic oneness with the Father after whom every family is named, whether fathered or not?

A boy studies Christianity and Evolution in his Sunday School. He goes to college. All is well. He faces no dark valleys of doubt. He has been prepared. He comes home profoundly grateful. Modernist and fundamentalist may rail at one another. He smiles. Why all the hubbub? He has faith, he has also a modern intellectual orientation.

A group decides to study the church. Why is the church? What is it for? What good is it? Why does it do such and such things? What does it believe? Such questions mean research, conference, quest. The rabbi is sought out, and the priest. Intelligent appreciation ensues. Real catholicity results. And impulse stirs. Impulse to "belong," to help; impulse to dig deeper. What does the Bible say? How did the Bible come to be? What does Jesus think? How did he arrive at such conclusions? Are they valid for today? Let us investigate. Gone the old sense of external compulsion, the wheedling coaxing to "study your lessons." These youth are now on a quest, a spiritual pilgrimage. They have discovered that the black stones are coal and worth mining. They find themselves on top of diamond mines of spiritual truth. They dig down through the strata of the generations to find the records of how men met life questions in days gone. They are alive. They want the richest possible life. They are not satisfied with life as it is. Therefore they seek to discover how we got this way, so that they can make the old world over, nearer to the heart's desire.

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Maybe there is a heart in the universe itself, similarly desirous of progress. If so—why, we must use again the old words of the prayer book, but how luminously new they sound—let us pray.

A high school lad writes to a Chinese boy. The Chinese lad writes back. To him, he admits, Christian missions seem like a cloak for economic imperialism. The missionary appears to be the unwitting dupe of trade, with the flag following hard after. Now when the radical weekly says such things your American high school boy may be deaf or unaware. But when he gets such doctrine in a personal letter, he sits up and takes notice. Why did he give that dime last Sunday for foreign missions? Was it to Christianize a pagan civilization (including the hope of reflex action on our own all too pagan portion of it) or was it merely to Americanize the trade of inland China? Projects are dangerous. They make folks think. Real religious education is a great risk. It may turn the world upside down.

A missionary comes home from overseas. The little children save to create a fund to help him. The Juniors put nickels and dimes together to strengthen his hands. Adults buy him a Ford and endow it with a fund to slake its thirst for gasoline. The youth hear about scholarship funds that are needed. They set out to raise a hundred dollars. "Aw shucks", says one adolescent, "let's raise at least that much. That's just where we begin." The missionary arrives. He is no longer merely a name on a church bulletin. He is *our* representative. He does business for us. He is expected to make good. We have invested in him. "Apportionment"? No. Long range commitment to the Kingdom of God on earth.

Yes, our class will take that poor family a Thanksgiving basket, but you can't stop us there. We have some questions to ask. Why do they need a basket? Why is their income so meager? Why can't they earn more? Why do they live in such a house? What can be done about it? We want to do something more permanent than just filling their tummies for once. We want to help them get on their feet. We want to keep them on their feet. How did they get off their feet? How can we prevent others from being swept off their feet?

And what's the use even of such far-reaching efforts if another war comes along and blows everything to smithereens? Why improve Negro housing if race war burns out the whole district? What use is there to discuss child labor in South Carolina if China is competing in the cotton market with fourteen hours a day, seven days in the week child labor? And, per contra, what right have we to try to reorganize the Balkans if the Baptists and the Disciples have no dealings with one another? How can we bring sweetness and light to India, if Gandhi and Tagore and a host of others repudiate our bloodthirsty materialism?

In other words, the dates of the reigns of the kings of Israel are innocuous enough as information, but how about the TNT in the social teachings of the prophets? What must God think of Western civilization? Can a man have mystic communion with the Great Presence without ever lending a hand to reconstruct the social order which seems so brutally to deny his imminence?

LET nobody imagine that the newer religious education lacks spiritual passion, that it is hopelessly enslaved to the economic status quo, subsidized by the dead hand of capitalistic traditionalism. He who thinks that has another guess coming. Put Negro, Italian, Mexican and pure Nordic children together making hammocks in a vacation church school and you have a social decoloring process going on which will fade the purple out of all the pseudo-biological race analysis that was ever perpetrated. Let the youth of America seek to understand the religious and ethical aspirations of "enemy" states and "heathen" lands, and you have let loose forces of social magnetism which will paralyze the time-pieces by which we have scheduled our nationalistic hatreds. Let children dream of organizing human effort as they do their play, and what becomes of the profit motive? Let Roman Catholic and Jew and Protestant sit down together to see how a too secularized educational process can make room for aspiration and spiritualized motivation, without imperiling the hard-won principle of the separation of church and state, and what becomes of sectarian hatred?

Yes, Main Street still lives in the days of sectarian feuds, petty indoctrination, horrible evidences of how not to do it. But at one end of Main Street stands the centralized school. There boys and girls think in terms of the community. There they are receiving opportunity to reach out to the ends of the earth. It follows as the night the day that eventually Main Street itself must be transformed.

If anybody with five hundred dollars to spare wants to invest it in religious education (see The Survey for March 15, 1925, p. 748), by all means take his money. But let the donor know that he may be subsidizing the dynamiters of the very order which to him seems eternally to be preserved. Religious education is reconstructive, prophetic. Subsidize it all you will. Until you denature it you cannot throttle it. It alone affords the dynamic to make actual the dreams of the social doctrinnaire, the technique to make actual the desires of the social evangel.

If such religious education can be given adequately only in the home, it may be that one of the essential by-products of the present forces will be the restoration of the home to its place of centrality in modern life. If this proves impossible, there is laid upon the institutions of higher learning the task of training that sort of leadership which shall be able to convince childhood that even a homeless civilization need not contradict a sense of being at home in the universe.

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The Common Welfare

PROBABLY a health agency by any other name might work as efficiently, yet there is more than mere verbiage involved in the change of title of the New York Tuberculosis Association to the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association. When the first organized drives on preventable disease were made in this country, it was tuberculosis which headed the list of destroyers of life and hope. While it still is accountable for more deaths of men and women in the most valuable working periods of life—the twenties and thirties—than any other disease, it has been checked to a degree which could hardly have been foreseen. With the easing of the immediate strain of caring for tuberculous people, and the establishment of the excellent organizations to combat the disease, it has been possible to lay more emphasis than ever before on prevention—and prevention of tuberculosis means a program of education in healthful living which sweeps far outside the boundaries of the earlier work. The New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, with the pioneer spirit which has been characteristic of its history, wishes to throw some of its weight into relatively undeveloped fields of health work, realizing the importance of each separate stone to a solid structure of health service. Needless to say, its specific tuberculosis program will be in no wise weakened. The action which prompts its change of name follows the current of public health work in emphasizing a complete and rounded health program instead of the separate sallies against specified disease.

CORNELL Pay Clinic, which offers self-suporting medical care for persons of moderate means in New York city is not the first or only venture of its kind. It has been, however, a real pioneer in the extent of its services and in its policy of offering treatment only on a pay basis. For this reason there is cause for warm satisfaction in the report of its first three years, just issued by the Committee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund, which leaves no room to doubt that such an organization is workable, can pay its own way, and, most important of all, can provide really good medical service, with a competence, promptness and courtesy which equal the standards of the best private practice.

During its three years the Cornell Clinic treated nearly 60,000 persons; its visits mount upwards of 100,000 a year. Moreover it has succeeded with a clientele especially difficult from the medical point of view, since the prominence of the leaders associated with the Cornell Medical College has drawn in patients whose illness is of long standing, and often of an obscure and complicated nature. From the social point of view these people represent the rank and file of Manhattan; the typical Cornell patient is a member of a family of two or three with an income of $2,400—and the recent report of the New York State Housing Commission finds that two-thirds of the families of New York have an income of $2,500 or less. By the economies which its organizatibn makes possible, the Clinic has been able to give them expert medical diagnosis and care on a self-supporting basis at rates which represent only about one-fifth of the fees charged by the specialists whom the nature of their illness requires, or two-fifths of the fees of general practitioners. And in doing this the Clinic pays its physicians salaries equivalent to those current commercially in similarly skilled medical work.

The alarm with which the Pay Clinic was viewed at the start by many members of the medical profession apparently has been largely dissipated by the realization that there is no intention of treating patients who can afford the rates charged by private practitioners for equivalent service. Only a comparatively small number of such people have applied. On the other hand, at first a quarter of its applicants, and more recently about a tenth, have been people whose incomes did not warrant their paying even its fee of $1.50 a visit, with extra charges for supplies and special services without drawing unduly on their allotments for food, clothing and rent. The task of guiding these applicants to one of the free dispensaries has been a considerable tax on the Clinic's resources, socially valuable, but productive of no immediate financial return.

The present acceptance of the Clinic by the medical profession in New York City is indicated by the fact that more than three thousand practising physicians in Manhattan have sent patients to its consultation service for aid in diagnosis or treatment. The success of its appointment system, and of the quality of its medical service, is registered in the remarkably high proportion of patients who attend steadily until the treatment is concluded satisfactorily. From the point of view of the Medical College it provides a much larger and more varied body of teaching material than did the old free Clinic which Cornell formerly maintained with an annual deficit of $21,000, for since the Clinic went on a pay basis the number of patients has more than doubled.

EBENEZER HOWARD, who dreamed the first garden city and made his dream come true, said after the International Town, City and Regional Planning Conference in New York last month that he found more driving force behind the garden city idea in this country than in his own. He has since been saying to small groups of interested listeners that American resources and energy should make an American garden city a more brilliant success than his own Letchworth and Welwyn.

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Mr. Howard is not only a courteous guest, but a stimulating one, and among his hearers there has been hearty approval for a plan sponsored by Thomas Adams, planner-in-chief for the Committee on a Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, looking toward the formation of a society to educate American opinion about garden cities. Mr. Adams was the first secretary of Mr. Howard's Garden City Association, and has been taking occasion to express with no small emphasis his personal belief that the garden city remains the only means of solving the problems of city congestion on a large scale. Such a statement from the executive of the New York Committee suggests that its final report may recommend a much more thorough-going decentralization than its preliminary publications would lead one to expect.

AT all events, the plan to familiarize the American investor, manufacturer, and householder with the potential advantages of the garden city is an excellent one. It should further the work of such enterprises as the City Housing Corporation, which, it is known, is already bending its energies toward the building of a garden city when the time is ripe. An organizing committee has been set up to plan for a conference in the fall at which the new association is to be launched: its members are Alexander M. Bing, president of the City Housing Corporation, who discussed the possibilities of an American garden city in Survey Graphic for May; Lawson Purdy of the Charity Organization Society; Henry James of the Committee on a Regional Plan for New York; Richard S. Childs, who organized the Industrial Housing Association for a somewhat similar purpose during the war; Charles S. Bird, Jr., of Boston; and Samuel Wetherill, Jr., of the Philadelphia Regional Plan Committee.

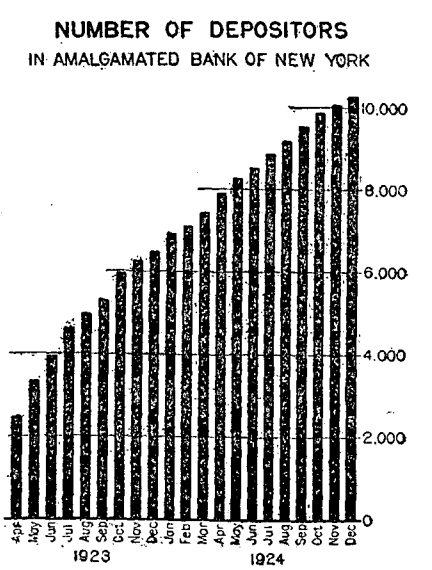
Meanwhile fresh evidence of the vitality of the regional planning idea is carried by the announcement that regional planning boards have been set up and are functioning in the Niagara frontier region and the capital district region (Albany, Troy, Schenectady and their environs) in New York state. Governor Smith's approval of the bill passed by the last legislature authorizing such boards gives official sanction to the informal organizations which had been formed in these regions and paves the way for a similar attack on the common problems of cities, towns, villages and farms in other parts of the state.

ONLY the federal government and four states—California, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—have laws which ensure compensation for workers stricken by any of the long list of occupational diseases. A few states have laws covering specific hazards, but in thirty-seven there is no compensation whatever for health destroyed by poisons, dusts and fumes during the course of employment. Two years' fight in New York state by the Workers' Health Bureau and other interested organizations to write into the statutes a comprehensive law on occupational disease has won only a backhanded victory—the defeat of a substitute bill put forward by employers and opposed by representatives of labor. Popular ignorance is probably as responsible as any one factor for this lack of the legal protection needed to insure the human costs of manufacture and stimulate improvement in methods and materials. In this issue (p. 353) Dr. Winslow traces the deadly connection between certain manufacturing dusts and tuberculosis and other forms of respiratory disease.

THE Producers' and Consumers' Bank of Philadelphia when opened on February 1, 1922, with deposits of half a million dollars, was advertised as the first labor-co-operative bank in the East. On May 4, 1925, its affairs were at its own request placed in the hands of a receiver appointed by the state. This brief and unprosperous history is likely to awaken apprehension with respect to other labor banks which have multiplied with sensational rapidity during the past three years.

While the founders of the Philadelphia enterprise called it a cooperative bank it was not cooperative in the Rochdale sense of the term. Its cooperative features were limited to the restriction of dividends to a maximum of 8 per cent per annum, and the pro rata distribution to depositors of all profits in excess of dividends less 2 per cent to the reserve fund. The board of trustees had authority to limit the number of shares anyone might hold. But it was not governed by the shareholders on the one-man-one-vote principle. Its officials, well-intentioned men but without adequate banking experience, were virtually self-appointed at the time of its organization and were later continued by its board of trustees. It was not a cooperative bank. Neither was it a labor bank in the currently accepted sense, although its charter provided that three-fifths of the members of the board of trustees must represent organized labor.

There is no mystery about banking, but it is not a business for amateurs. Where labor banks employ banking experts, not merely well-disposed men, to conduct their affairs, they prosper, like the first labor bank in New York city, The Amalgamated Bank of New York, now two years old. In place of the weight chart of the well brought up baby it submits a graphic record of the growth of its army of depositors. The record is concluded as of January 1, 1925, though the succeeding months have registered further increases not yet available in tabular form.



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At the End of the Road

In these pages, in response to several requests, The Survey summarizes some recent aspects of the facts, philosophy and technique of care for the aged.

"THE last of life for which the first was made"—so Browning saw old age. There are others for whom old age is only the last turn in a cheerless road. The irremediable helplessness of old people makes their problems, like those of children, peculiarly a field for social action.

There are frequent instances wherein we find it necessary to furnish some measure of relief, in which we act with a certain hesitation. The tendency to dependence in the human heart is so positive, the evils of pauperism are so great, that our conscience makes us pause. But when we come to the help of the aged and infirm, we are free from doubts of the kind. People who, by reason of extreme age, or age combined with physical disability, are incapable of providing for themselves and are without means, are not in danger of dependence. They are and always will be naturally dependent. They have come to the end of the road. Whether their poverty is due to pure misfortune, or is their own fault: whether improvidence in their days of industry, or disaster since those days have passed is the cause of their dependency, they are alike the proper objects of our care, although the method of that care may be various for various classes.

GRANDMOTHER

The best and happiest place of abode for an old man or woman who is beyond the age of self-support, and who in the days of strength has made no adequate provision for his old age, is the home of a son or daughter, if he is so fortunate as to have one capable and willing to shelter him. Natural ties are of intense value. As social workers we should do our best to conserve them. The ideal family consists not only of the father, mother and children but also a grandparent, at least one. Unable to work for wages, the old person may often be very useful in such a home. That children should learn to respect and reverence the aged; that the obligation to care for our parents, in their weakness, as they cared for us in ours, should be taught to each child, is a valuable social asset. And to the laboring man with a family it is a form of insurance that can not be lightly undervalued.

Even when an old person has no near relatives able to give him shelter, if he is fairly self-helpful, sober and trustworthy, either outdoor relief if he is a public charge, or a pension, if a private one, may be preferable to life in an institution. To have a little place of your own, no matter how bare and simple, gives a sense of dignity and self-respect which is lost in an institution and which to many people is a necessity, if not of life, certainly of contentment. No wonder many decent old people resist it to the last extremity and have even been known to die of starvation rather than part with their few "little sticks" and go into the "house." Even from the point of financial economy, a pension may be preferable. William H. Matthews, of the A. I. C. P. of New York city, who has made a specialty of the care of the aged, tells me that in that city, where living costs are probably at the maximum for this country, an old man with $25 per month who is able to care for himself and his room can manage to exist with moderate comfort. There are few institutions for the aged in which the cost per inmate is as low as $300 per annum. There are private ones in which the cost is nearly four times as much in addition to the initial cost of equipment which is now usually well over a thousand dollars for each inmate, some costing several thousand dollars. Then there are many cases in which the old person has a tiny income which may be supplemented.

Until we shall adopt the method of old age pensions, which has prevailed in Germany and Denmark for many years, and for some years in Great Britain, most of the public care of the aged will be by means of the almshouse. This is the most important of the county institutions. In our newer nomenclature we are continually trying to find milder terms for disagreeable things, by which we may at least seem to soften the harsh facts of existence. Sometimes a new name leaves the thing itself unchanged, but it usually indicates more than a mere desire for euphuism. The name of the county institution for the poor differs in different countries and in our country in different states. In Indiana it is the County Asylum for the Poor although it is more often called the Poor Farm. In Great Britain it is the Union Workhouse. (In my native Lancashire, where the poor fear and hate it, they call it the Bastille.) Almshouse is used in New England; in the Mid-West Poorhouse is most common. In Ohio, the legal name is Infirmary. When Homer Folks was commissioner of charities in New York, he changed Poorhouse into Home for the Aged and Infirm. In California the County Hospital is the generic term and the Home for Aged Poor is a department. In Maryland it is The County Home.

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In Richmond, Virginia, City Home has recently supplanted Poorhouse. I have heard from Utah of a Home For Those Financially Unfortunate. On Nantucket Island there is a beautiful, ivy-clad house for the poor, over whose portal is carved the name Our Island Home. It has generally been with a sincere desire to make the almshouse into a real home for deserving poor people that an attractive title has been coined for it. With a less offensive name has usually come a milder and kinder management.

A FEW years ago, almost everywhere, inmates of almshouses were, and in a few places they are today, a heterogeneous mass, representing almost every kind of human distress. Being the lowest and most common form of institutional provision, it had to receive the dregs which had no other place. Old veterans of labor, worn out by many years of ill-requited toil alongside of exhausted veterans of dissipation, the victims of their own vices; the crippled and sick; the insane; the blind; deaf mutes; feebleminded; epileptic; people with all kinds of chronic diseases; unmarried mothers with their babies; thieves no longer capable of crime; worn-out prostitutes; in some places even short-term prisoners: and along with these and sometimes mingling freely without the least supervision, little, normal, orphaned or deserted children and a few people of better birth and breeding, reduced to poverty in their old age, often through no fault of their own.

This picture of the old poorhouse is, in Ohio, fortunately a thing of the long past. Most of the classes above mentioned, who are so evidently out of place in a Home for the Aged and Infirm, which is what we are recognizing our infirmaries ought to be, have been segregated from the mass and are provided for in institutions appropriate for them. It is years since a normal child more than two years old has been an inmate. Yet there are still to be seen in most Ohio infirmaries some ill-placed inmates: many insane, many epileptics and some feebleminded children. Although the state has undertaken the care of insane epileptics and feebleminded children it has not yet made that care adequate. One of the important things for us to do is to bring about the complete care by the state of all those classes for whom it has assumed responsibility.

From Greifenkalender, 1925

POVERTY AND OLD AGE

One of the most important of the departments of the County Home, and most difficult to manage, is that for the chronic invalids. This unfortunate class are perhaps the least adequately cared for in our present haphazard system—or no-system—of relief. The unique method of the state of California for these is admirable. In that state the county institution is primarily a hospital and is called County Hospital. It usually has a department for the aged poor who are not sick, as a branch, although a few counties have two separate institutions. Both chronic and temporary sickness is treated in these places and the proportion of sick cases to not-sick (it would be inaccurate to call them healthy) is usually about seven to four.

In communities having a public hospital and a public institution for the poor entirely separate, it becomes a question to which of them a poor person with a chronic ailment should be sent. On the one hand if they go to the hospital, in a short time that would be so filled with noncurable cases as to be spoiled for its proper work. On the other hand, if they go to the poorhouse, either they will not have the attention they need, or they will have it at a prohibitive cost of labor and money. In my opinion the question is one that can be answered by study of each case on its merits, with cordial and unselfish cooperation between those in charge of each institution.

It is well to remember, when we are staggered by the cost of the proper treatment of public dependents, that we must not measure what is proper by the kind of care they would have received in their own homes. We have assumed the responsibility for their care and as our sanitary arrangements are better than those they have been accustomed to and our dietary is more ample and scientific than that they had at home, so must all their treatment be. Unless we do for them as well as we know how, we have not met our responsibility. If we are criticised for making the condition of the pauper more desirable than that of the independent poor, we may answer that we would like every one to be as well off and that some day, when the world has discovered how to apportion to the laborer his fair share of the fruits of his industry, all *will* be, except as they may be injured by their own vices.

I DO not know of any form of charity which on the average is so well administered as is the care of aged people in the numerous denominational and endowed Homes for the Aged. These Homes vary from a simple, modest building, with little more more of elaboration in its equipment than is found in the average middle-class home, to a rich man's hobby, a palatial mansion, with parlor, bedroom and bath for each resident. The per capita maintenance cost varies from as low as three hundred dollars per annum to as high as twelve hundred dollars, and the first cost from one thousand dollars per bed to six thousand dollars. Nearly all the private homes, except those of the Little Sisters of the Poor, require

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From a German calendar

THE IDEAL FAMILY CONSISTS NOT ONLY OF THE FATHER, MOTHER AND CHILDREN, BUT ALSO A GRANDPARENT

an entrance fee, which a few years ago was usually about three hundred dollars, but now ranges from four hundred to twelve hundred dollars. Of course, the very tiny income from this small capital account goes a very little way towards defraying the cost of maintenance, its greatest value is a psychological one on the members and their friends. It does, to a slight extent, take away the sting of charity, and it gives a continuity to membership, as a member withdrawing usually forfeits his admission fee.

While the homes are usually above criticism on the score of bodily comfort, there is one condition to complete satisfaction which is often lacking and that is some form of regular employment. No one who visits the Workshops of the Aged, conducted by the A. I. C. P. of New York, can fail to notice the satisfaction and even the delight which the old people find in their work. To one who has been an active worker for fifty or sixty years idleness and the sense of uselessness which it brings is a serious evil. To have some daily task within one's strength, to know that it is necessary and that it conduces to the happiness of others, is a great boon.

But beautiful and comfortable as the private Homes usually are, they are not the best for all people. Some of their members would be happier with a little pension and the opportunity to live just as they please and there are cases among them who ought to be with their children. It is therefore desirable that the conditions of every applicant should be carefully studied and their choice wisely guarded, and this means proper investigation. And then it happens sometimes that there are more applicants than room for them, in which case study of each case is needed, to admit those most requiring the care of the Home.

There are varieties enough in the conditions and needs of aged people who are dependent so that no rule-of-thumb methods of decision as to where they should be cared for will suffice. As in all social work, an essential to success is a foundation of thorough inquiry, or case work, which can only be effective when done by a trained worker, who will specialize in the department. It is highly desirable that in every community where there are enough agencies to require one person's whole time, a case worker should be appointed for the special purpose. In smaller places the task may be properly assigned to some existing social agency, who may appoint one of its agents to do the work. The salary of the agent should be paid on some fair basis by the institutions using her services. While no private agency can be expected or asked to surrender its own right to choose the cases it will receive, every one of them will gain confidence in its work when it is fully informed of all the circumstances of those who would be its beneficiaries.

ALEXANDER JOHNSON

Pensions—On and Off

TWO decades have not yet passed since the first American state—Massachusetts—appointed a commission to study the subject of old age dependency and pensions; although, in England, legislative committees were seeking a solution of the problem of old age as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. About the time the Lloyd George Old Age Pensions Act was enthusiastically adopted in Great Britain, the first American commission studying the subject counseled against all such systems—preferring the Elizabethan system of poor relief which the mother country tried to abolish. During the last decade, however, a number of states, notably Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin appointed commissions to study the subject. Without exception, these bodies, having disclosed the pitiful conditions prevailing among the dependent aged wage-earners who are discarded upon the industrial scrap heap, urged a more constructive method of care for the superannuated workers.

The shocking facts aroused the active championship of the cause of the aged by a number of organizations in the United States—especially the American Association for Labor Legislation and the Fraternal Order of Eagles. As a result, the year 1923 witnessed the introduction of old age pension bills in twenty-four legislatures. These were reported out favorably by their committees in twelve states, passed one house of the legislature in six states and in Montana, Nevada and Pennsylvania were enacted into laws.

The advocates of old age pension legislation in the United States were fully conscious of the deficiencies of the measures adopted in 1923. For in not one of the three states was a really effective old age pension law placed on the statute books. In Montana, the law provides merely for the payment of old age pensions by the regular county poor relief officials. This, in practice, is merely an extension of the principle of outdoor relief; and inasmuch as the administration of the law is placed in the hands of the same poor relief officials, its administration can hardly be adequate. Furthermore, the law leaves entirely out of consideration one of the main features of an old age pension system—the removal of the stigma of pauperism. The fact that the state auditor's report for 1924 shows an average allowance of $151.74 per applicant as against the maximum of $300 provided in the law would seem sufficient proof that these grants were made on the basis of long established poor relief principles rather than an adequate subsistence. The Nevada special tax levy proved insufficient to make payments and the higher officials of the state "feared the political result of paying

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pensions to some when there might not be enough for all applicants" and as a result paid none. In Pennsylvania the legislature appropriated only $25,000 for the work of the Old Age Assistance Commission which naturally precluded the making of extensive pension grants. Nevertheless, the friends of this legislation were gratified with the early results achieved in placing three American states on record in favor of this legislation. Improvements, it was hoped, would follow in succeeding legislatures.

The sentiment in behalf of old age pensions crystalized so suddenly and received such unexpected impetus in 1923 that the forces which are always at hand to combat all progressive legislation were caught unawares. They didn't anticipate such an onslaught. However, they were not to be caught again. The first opportunity to show their power came in the fall of 1923 in Ohio. By a systematic and malicious campaign of falsification and misrepresentation they succeeded in defeating the referendum on old age pensions which, against the better advice of their counsellors, was submitted to the people by the friends of this legislation in the Buckeye State. Their appetite sharpened by the Ohio victory, a court attack was launched immediately by certain "taxpayers and corporations" against the constitutionality of the sprouting Old Age Assistance Act of Pennsylvania. Having succeeded in obtaining a county court decision nullifying the Pennsylvania old age assistance law and the opposition having meanwhile become intoxicated with the success achieved in defeating the child labor amendment, a resolution was introduced immediately upon the convening of the Nevada legislature repealing the Nevada old age pension law. This was promptly accomplished with hardly any opposition.

Thus the year 1925 opened up with bleak and dreary prospects for the advocates of old age pension legislation. Since the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had sustained the decision of the county court in nullifying the Pennsylvania old age assistance act [See The Survey, Oct. 15, 1924, Unconstitutional and Void], the Montana law, with its county pension system was the only one of the three strong laws still in force. In every legislature where bills were introduced strong opposition developed. Although in 1923, the writer addressed more than twenty state legislatures on the subject without encountering any open opposition, not one legislative hearing this year passed without the bitterest attacks from manufacturers and allied associations.

The tactics of misrepresentation and prejudice, so successfully used in defeating the child labor amendment, were made to work double time also in the case of old age pension bills. In Nevada, it was not sufficient to repeal the law but a resolution was introduced abolishing the state job now held by the man who was most actively engaged in promoting the cause of the aged. In the Pennsylvania senate during the debates on the ratification of the child labor amendment a senator who generally stands with labor became so enraged by the single open proponent, that it made him deplore all recent amendments. After reference to the evils of the Eighteenth Amendment he shouted that the amendment providing for the direct election of senators "only brought us the Shipsteads, the Brookharts, the LaFollettes and other rats." Turning shamefully to the lonely woman senator, he bemoaned the suffrage amendment as one which "did more harm to the home than it did good to the country." Indeed, there seemed to be little hope for the advocates of a better system of care for the unfortunate aged.

But this year's campaign seems to have "smoked out" the enemies of old age pensions and the end of the legislative year leaves the movement stronger than before. Both the Pennsylvania and Nevada commissions published reports showing strikingly the inexpensiveness and efficacy with which these laws can be carried out and unanimously urged the adoption of an effective old age pension system. A state commission in Indiana reached the same conclusions. A commission in Massachusetts which had been investigating the subject since 1923 has been continued to report in the fall of 1925. The states of Colorado, Utah and Minnesota created commissions to study the subject. A bill for an investigating commission in New York passed unanimously one house of the legislature.

From the annual report of the Hartford V. N. A.

Bills introduced this year passed one house in the states of Indiana and New Jersey and were killed in the other branches only after bitter and hard fought battles. In Massachusetts, the vote in the lower house was 116 to 100 despite an unfavorable committee report. Of the laws adopted in 1923, the Montana law remains unshaken. In Nevada, the friends of this legislation, after a series of spectacular battles, succeeded in passing a county system of old age pensions on the Montana plan. Even in Pennsylvania a constitutional amendment to permit the payment of old age pensions was passed practically unanimously. A commission to study the subject further and report to the 1927 legislature was also created. And last, but not least, two new states—California and Wisconsin—adopted old age pension laws by overwhelming majorities. Unfortunately, the California bill was vetoed by Governor Richardson on the ground that "it was harmful to the spirit of thrift and economy." At this writing it seems likely that Illinois will adopt the old age pension bill now before the legislature. Thus, the advocates of a greater measure of justice for the aged may take renewed courage. Despite all obstacles their work is slowly but surely forging ahead.

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

Who Are the Aged Poor?

ALMOST all her life Miss Grady had supported herself making coats. Then she had to stop work because of ill-health. Her savings stretched over eleven years, but one morning she woke up to find that there was only $116 left. She deposited this with an undertaker, to save herself from a pauper's grave, and went to the almshouse.

Miss Grady is one of a group of old people studied by the Research Department of the Women's Educational and

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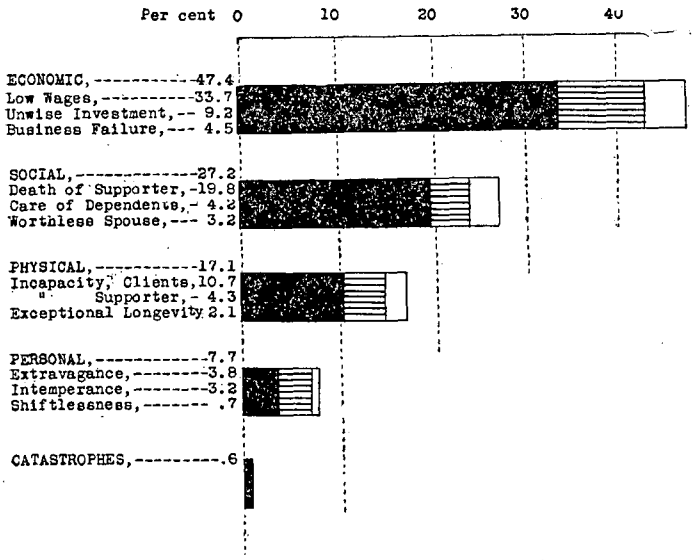
Industrial Union of Boston in a survey of the 892 aged clients of Boston social agencies, and of 615 aged residents of a representative district of the city. The findings of the study, which was executed by Katharine Brown Hardwick, Ruth Manson Belcher, Louise A. Schlichting, Ruth Willis Kohlmetz, and Mabel P. Taylor, under the direction of Lucile Eaves, have been published as a book, with comments by representatives of Boston public and private organizations giving aid to the aged.

About a quarter of the dependent old people whose records were known to this group of Boston social agencies had never had incomes sufficient to cover even a minimum subsistence, and nearly a fifth had been able to enjoy only the bare necessities of life. In contrast to this 44 per cent, which might normally be expected to become dependent in old age, was an approximately equal group who had always been in comfortable circumstances, some of them well-to-do or even wealthy. And that old age dependency is a hazard faced by all classes, and often is quite unrelated to individual improvidence or shiftlessness, is shown by Miss Schlichting's analysis of the primary reasons why the dependent clients of Boston social agencies had failed to make adequate provision for their last years, summarized in the chart below.

PRIMARY CAUSES OF FAILURE TO MAKE PROVISION FOR OLD AGE



That hazard, apparently, rests more heavily on women than men. [See The Survey, July 15, 1924, Who Wants Old Age Pensions? an advance notice of this same study.] Two out of every three aged dependents were women. Those women very frequently had suffered from physical and mental breakdowns. There is a striking and significant difference between the number of aged clients of the social agencies with specific handicaps of this nature (seven-eighths of all reporting) and the number among the aged residents of the given district (three-fifths of those reporting), showing the degree to which actual incapacity, with a resulting loss of power to earn, was associated with dependency. Comparison of the several forms of handicap, such as mental disease, blindness, and crippled conditions, showed an even sharper difference between the two groups.

Apparently, as a group, these old people were anxious to earn. Forty-four per cent of the aged clients, and 75 per cent of the aged residents, helped in some way with their own support. Some of the women had shown amazing ingenuity in finding work. Among forty-four distinct occupations were listed an artist's model, at thirty-five cents a morning, and a boarder of cats, at twenty-five cents a week per cat; while a former school teacher made fish-nets, and a woman of seventy-five read aloud to people with poor eye-sight. Most of the clients had little more than burial money as accumulated savings.

Between sixty-five and seventy is the critical age-period for old people, according to the Boston study. Deferring the granting of a pension to seventy would decrease by one-half the number of pensioners. The largest group is that from seventy to seventy-five years. While most of the clients of the Boston social agencies needed financial assistance primarily, there was a financially independent group who needed general advice, help in obtaining pensions or compensation, or homes, or medical care. "It should not be forgotten," writes Miss Schlichting, "that man cannot live by bread alone, and this is especially true of the poor who often find themselves in old age friendless, helpless and bewildered."

"In view of the large element of risk involved in making preparation for one's unproductive future, [the report concludes] it would seem that the principle of insurance might advisedly be applied to this field. However, if it were contributory in character a good many people would automatically be eliminated because of a lack of any surplus of earnings over cost of living. If it were voluntary, the larger portion of our population in comfortable circumstances would prefer to make their provision as they now do, in the form of savings and investments. And yet we find some people from each of these groups in need of financial help when they are aged and unable to work. The real issue is to decide who is then to be responsible for their support.

"A good many of the older civilized countries of Europe have long since abandoned the idea that these unfortunates should depend on the whim of the charitably disposed, and have devised systems of old age insurance which provide minimum subsistence incomes to all needy citizens. In some countries the State alone, and in others the State, employer and individual meet the costs of such insurance.

"Once the consciousness of social responsibility for these unfortunates has developed in this country, our taxpayers will look for plans from their legislators for adequately meeting this universal risk—plans adapted to our own peculiar needs, which will most justly and wisely distribute the cost of old age insurance against destitution."

Better Care for the Aged

UNDER this caption the Research Department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston is appealing for data from social workers in other parts of the country to broaden the scope of their own studies. What old-age occupations do you find in your community? How are the aged sick cared for? and so on. *One* typical case history, or description of an aged person (65 years or over) would be "a welcome contribution to the study of this complex and distressing group of our clients." Address replies to Lucile Eaves, Director, 264 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

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COMMUNITIES

Community Chest Corollaries

Are community chests, as Mr. Kelso intimated in the May Midmonthly, falling short of their real responsibility for the coordination of social work? Are they, per contra, as Miss Brisley suggests here, already going too far in handicapping the individual agency? The community chest has outgrown the stage of being a football for dialectics, but its performance still invites vigorous debate, and both case workers and community organizers will, we hope, take pen in hand to comment on Miss Brisley's generalizations and suggestions.

FROM my experience of several years in a Minneapolis caseworking agency both before and after the community chest was organized it seems fairly obvious that both chests and their component agencies are facing a serious succession of causes and effects. Nor has discussion with case workers from other cities tended to make the difficulties seem less ominous because they are so widespread. Community chests in various parts of the country are occasionally failing to secure the total amount which their budget committees have agreed is necessary to support the social agencies for the coming year. This failure has its effect upon the work of the agencies, which in turn effects. . . . . Let us examine some of those effects.

Formerly those interested in social work were confined to two classes—the wealthy who supported the agencies and the "poor" whom the agencies supported or at least helped. The chest movement has tended to lessen the gap between these two extremes by deepening the top layer of subscribers, and also by thickening the lower level of beneficiaries so that now only the thinnest partition divides the two. With the increase in the number of subscribers has come a decided increase in the number of cases referred to the social agencies, notably to the children's and family agencies. Many of these are—to borrow a medical term—instances of low grade chronic infections, the most difficult to deal with because of their inertia, and the most time consuming in the social worker's load. When giving was confined to a comparatively few well-to-do people, these families managed to "get along" unless some accident such as illness, unemployment, or desertion made their condition acute. Their standard of living was on a bare subsistence level; but as it had never been much higher and seldom went lower, the families did not complain, and their immediate neighbors felt no particular responsibility beyond helping tide them over an emergency. Now, however, that the neighbor has a proprietary interest in the work of social agencies, and knows that families under their care are actually better off than the family next door, he sets out to see that his neighbor's standards are raised.

Theoretically, this is a healthy condition of affairs. We as social workers are or ought to be concerned with the problems of such families; but when the staff is already burdened to the limit of its capacity and no money is forthcoming for more workers to carry this additional load, what can the result be but a lowering of the grade of work done by the agency and a concurrent and resultant discouragement of the staff worker?

Not so healthy as the socially-minded desire of the neighbor is the attitude of relatives and other natural sources of assistance, who relieve themselves of any responsibility by the statement that they subscribed to the chest, and it is now up to the social agency in question to care for the family's problems. We recognize that we are here given an excellent opportunity to explain the real aims of social work, but the educative process is slow, not always helped by the type of publicity used during the campaign, and the worker must choose whether she will spend valuable time in converting this one person—time which is desperately needed for attention to the needs of clients under her care—or whether she will accept the responsibility which the relative shrugs from his shoulders.

The situation is peculiarly aggravated in those cities where the chest maintains a "complaint bureau," whether called by that name or not. One can perhaps hardly blame the chest for having allowed itself to develop a defensive attitude in accepting complaints which has the natural effect of increasing the complainant's quixotic desire to right the wrong. Many times the agency has not done the best possible work, in fact it is usually our failures which arise to plague us; but the precedent is dangerous. Mere acceptance of a complaint, even for relay, gives to contributors, agency, and chest employe a presumption that it is the chest which is responsible to the community for the work done, not the individual agency. This in turn implies an oversight on the part of the chest of the policies of its member agencies which tends to become actual. Yet to the chest, failure to take up complaints of influential contributors seems suicidal, while to the agency the increasing amount of time necessary to handle such complaints makes for a lowered tone of work.

The effect of this enforced lowering of standards is serious. Of immediate consequence to the chest is the fact of higher cost, especially higher relief in the family and child-caring agencies. Almost more important is the fact that poor work calls forth more complaints which materially affect the money-getting power of the chest during the next campaign. "Circles of poverty" operate quite as effectively in social agencies as in families. Even more serious from the point of view of the agency is the second effect, that upon the staff. Nothing is quite so demoralizing and paralyzing as a hopeless overload, and poor work

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begets poorer work. The pressure crushes the joy out of the job, forces some workers out of social work, breaks the health of others, and develops in still others an unconscious defensive attitude which tends to lower both the grade and the amount of their work. Social workers are, of course, a notoriously peripatetic group, but from experience one feels that the tension of the situation in at least one city has had much to do with the scattering over the country in the past year or two of a group formerly remarkable for its spirit of cooperation and vision of the possibilities in social work.

Increasing the difficulty is the fact that the first thing to be cut from an agency budget, and the last thing to be added, is a "research" department or worker. We no longer have any one on our staff whose main job it is to dig into the work of the organization, find out the reasons for the things that are happening and present to the staff and to the public the causes of obvious effects, and the effects of evident causes, so that few of us have an opportunity to see beyond our noses.

I have painted a gloomy picture, possibly a caricature. There are hopeful signs of course, but the description of the situation reflects not only one person's experience but to some extent at least, and quite unofficially, that of the group of executives of family caseworking agencies in the Middle West which met in Louisville early in December 1924. What is to be done?

THE courageous attempt of the Philadelphia family society to meet the situation by refusing to accept more cases forced the effects of the failure to raise the chest budget back upon the community; but not until after much suffering had resulted was the needed money raised. Whatever the effect upon next year's chest in that city, and it can hardly be a happy one, most of us would agree that it is a method to be used, as in this case, only as a last resort.

Special funds might be raised to meet emergencies, as this instance proved, and it is even possible that expansion might be provided for in the same manner; but this practice, if it became general, would defeat the purpose of the chest and might mean the wreckage of the whole system. An attempt to make cuts on other than a flat percentage basis, as the Minneapolis experience of last year proved, provides for jealousies between agencies which communicate themselves to the public and breed distrust which again threatens to defeat the chest.

Family solidarity is an admirable ideal, but family uniformity which is often mistaken for it means frequently the crushing out of any particular talent and the lessening of the opportunities of the individual members. The process of equalization is all too frequently a levelling down rather than a bringing up, and a continuance of the present situation means to many agencies a definite slowing down of progress and a serious lowering of standards. In the days when individual agencies raised their own budgets, the relation between cause and effect was fairly simple. Only as an organization justified its faith by its works could it, in the long run, hold its subscribers. With the chests as they are now organized, this is no longer true. The only way the contributor can make his distrust of one agency felt is by refusing support to the whole chest. Even the contributors realize in the cities I know best that "designation" is a joke—and not too practical a joke at that, and at least one campaign committee sees no value in the idea and is therefore unwilling to make plans to make it practical.

AS the experience meeting of family agency executives already referred to testified, agencies turned over the names and the support of their boards of directors to the chests while making valiant efforts to retain their interest in the particular organization; but with the widening of their interest there has inevitably come to these board members a less vital contact with the organizations. One can be absorbingly interested in one or two organizations to which one contributes heavily, but one can hardly know intimately the work of fifty. Nor is one ordinarily so eager for the reputation of an agency to which—by the division of funds—one gives only one-tenth or less as much as one formerly did, even though the amount subscribed is the same. Again as in the case of the complaint bureau the chest acts as the "middleman," the barrier as well as the connection between the giver and the receiver. One of the most significant illustrations of the feeling on the part of the contributor that he is being too far removed from participation in the work of social agencies is the rise, in Minneapolis, of informal relief agencies outside the chest. The luncheon clubs, churches, and sunshine societies have increasingly within the last few years developed special relief funds of their own. The phenomenon strikes one as a return, on a larger scale, of the idea of "personal giving" as a protest against "organized charity" which followed the over-professionalizing of relief giving early in the century. The present situation is more serious than the earlier one, since groups are more powerful than individuals, and the comparatively young and delicate technique and philosophy of case work are much more in danger of being killed by such pressure than the more repressive methods in frequent use in social agencies then.

Discouraging as the picture looks to many of us, there are few who would deny that the chest movement has come to stay; too many people have proved that point in this same magazine for further debate to be necessary. It does seem, however, that there must be modifications which social workers can help the chest to make in its procedure which will minimize some of the serious consequences to the member agencies. Otherwise, will not the chest perforce and without malice on its part gradually assume the position of dictator of policies and developments in social work? In other words, will not standards of work eventually be quite subordinated to the money-raising function; and if this happens does it not mean practically the death of some forms of social work, particularly of social case work which is at the same time one of the most important and least articulate of the forms of social work? If this crisis serves to force case workers to give more attention to putting their ideals and technique into words which will be intelligible to the layman, we may, pollyanna-like, feel that it has its compensations. The danger is that they will be overwhelmed before they are really conscious of their danger.

SOME at least of our difficulties in raising money may be due to our attempt to carry over into prosaic peace times, the psychology of the uniform, the flag, and the drum. During the war, we were not asked to think, almost we were asked not to think. Under the emotional stress of the time these methods worked, the money was raised, and all

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went well. But the same methods, as is apparent from the post mortems being held on chest campaigns in several cities, are not working now. The campaigns as campaigns may be quite perfect, but they have one flaw—they do not always raise the money. "The operation", you remember, "was successful, but the patient died," and it seems rather necessary to inquire into the cause of the death of these patients in order to save the life of others.

May not one cause be that we are attempting to do too much in too short a time, and are appealing in our chest publicity to an emotion which has subsided? "Which agency" said a contributor, looking appraisingly at a campaign poster of the usual small boy asleep on the doorstep, "is supposed to wash his face?" The emotional appeal still has its place but if we continue to make an appeal which is only or largely emotional we should recognize that we can hardly compete for pathos with the tubercular beggar on the street.

THE following suggestions to meet the dangers of the situation are thrown out as bait to draw more valuable plans to the surface. In the first place, what might happen if the chest (I do not here refer to councils of social agencies) came out with a definite statement to each contributor that it was simply a financial agency, a convenience to the contributor with no responsibility for the work of the agencies for whom it raised money, and that all matters except those which were purely financial would have to be taken up directly with the agencies? Possibly some people might be offended, but many social agencies have made good their refusal to accept anonymous reports without wrecking themselves, and the principle is the same. Suppose also we ceased in our advertising to personify the chest, and instead of bringing in the work of the agencies to illustrate the value of the chest, as is the effect, if not the purpose, in our current publicity, we advertised the agencies in terms which would appeal to our most intelligent givers rather than to those who are less well-informed. We might not reach so many people but our results from those we did reach would probably be greater. We should have gained moreover by having increased in the community the number of people who know what it is all about, even though we decrease the number of those who give because everybody else is doing so.

The next suggestion might serve to revive the interest of our boards of directors. In most communities the number of citizens who serve on boards of social agencies approximates the whole soliciting organization of the chest. One wonders if some scheme could not be worked out whereby they might be consciously made the backbone of our campaign organization instead of our present system of spending a tremendous amount of effort to get together several hundred people for one week's campaign. Instead of an organization of enthusiastic but uninformed people who have to be educated en masse and for the moment, and who then drop their interest until just before the next campaign, we should have in most cities a group of people who are alive to the need of social work, are thoroughly familiar with the work of at least one agency, and whose interest will continue during the year. Probably the soliciting would not be done so rapidly, but even though the campaign had to cover two weeks or even more, the results would seem surer.

As a further feature of this plan a committee made up of members of each of the boards and the executives of the agencies might carefully "rate" the different agencies in the order of their relative necessity to the community. None of us consider our own agencies luxuries, if we did we should not be on our particular jobs; but few of us would doubt that certain social agencies are of more fundamental importance than others. When the campaign was put on, the agencies might be divided into small groups in the order of their ratings and the budgets for each group made the special goal for the day. Or if this was not practical a real system of designation could be put into effect and subscribers be urged to allocate their gifts with the assurance that their wishes would be respected. As the budget of an agency was subscribed, word should be sent to each solicitor, so that subscribers could be given the chance to choose between over-subscribing the budget of that particular agency or diverting their gifts to other agencies. Since the agency budget as made up usually provides for what the agency considers a reasonable expansion, the contributors' desire as to the progress of each would be accurately registered and the deadening effect of the present uniform rate of increase and decrease would be offset. At best—and probably—the danger that a certain agency would not receive its full budget would stimulate the board members, who under this plan would also be solicitors, to redouble their efforts to raise the money. The task of raising at the last moment even five thousand dollars for one agency is not nearly so paralyzing in its effect as that of raising ten times that amount for the chest, and with the localizing of interest, the burden would be distributed so that each group would feel responsible for only a portion of the load rather than having the pressure of the whole. At worst the scheme might mean the extinction of one or more agencies, but one is reminded that it is better that one should die rather than that all shall lose the vision. And will not the sight of a few agencies which, having secured an ample budget, are enabled to do an excellent grade of work lighten the drab monotony of poor work for the rest of us? May it not stimulate us to better our own performance and our own publicity and thus secure for ourselves the funds and the opportunity to do still better work?

MARY S. BRISLEY

THE CITY of Omaha is being educated as to the value of playgrounds, their relation to juvenile delinquency and the need of proper supervision, through studies of recreation made by the sociology department of the University of Omaha and put at the disposal of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. In addition a campaign has been carried on through clubs and other organizations to arouse public interest. Last year the Park Commissioner selected supervisors for the playgrounds of the city by lottery, to prevent political disturbance, and also, as he stated, because it made very little difference anyway! There weren't enough trained workers to matter. This year the aroused civic agencies asked the University to assume some of the responsibility for educating playground workers. It responded by organizing a training course as a part of the summer school curriculum. This will consist of ten days of intensive study of different phases of recreation. The Playground and Recreation Association of America will furnish one of the instructors and fourteen leaders of the various agencies of the city will assist. The University of Omaha is the first west of the Mississippi to organize such an institute.

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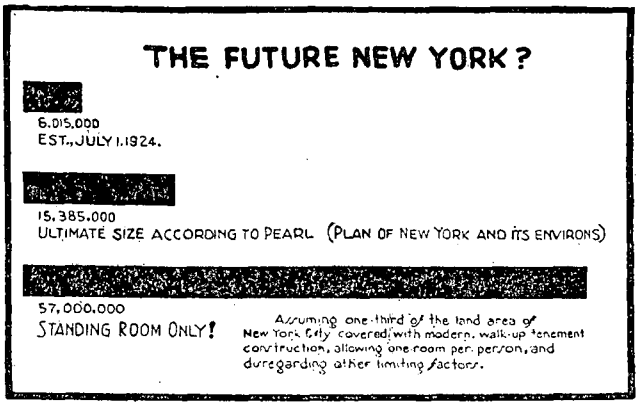
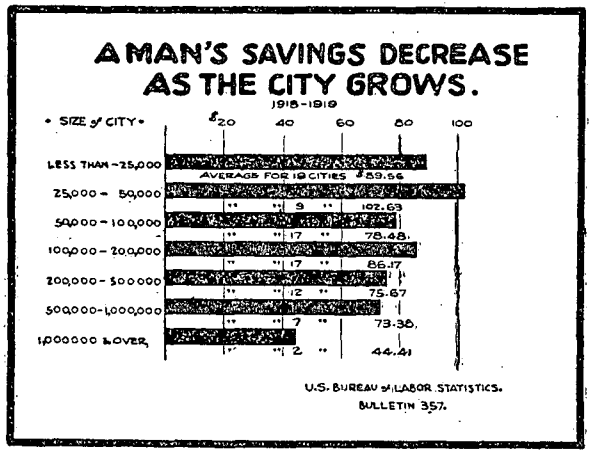
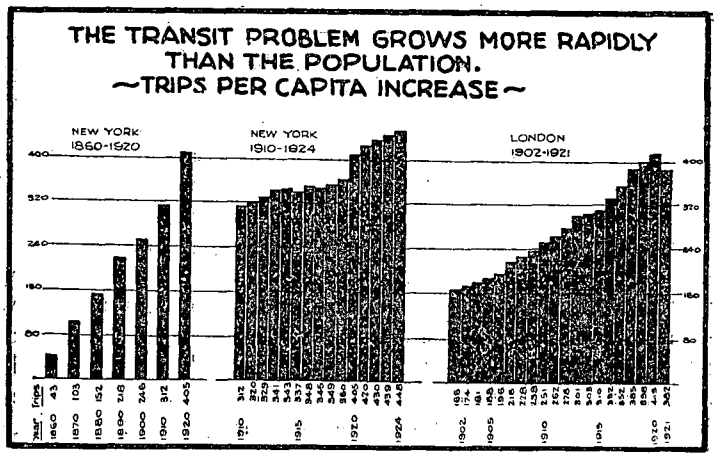
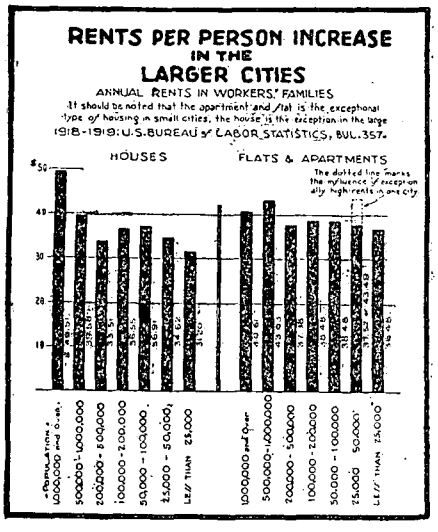
As Cities Grow

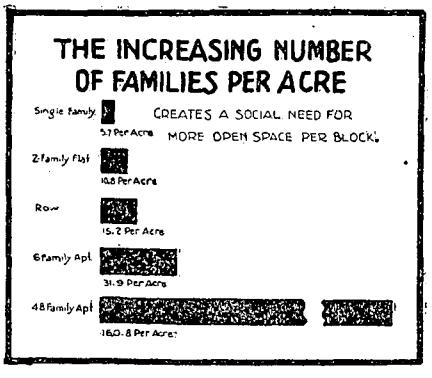
The upward sweep of the census curve has usually been regarded by small and great cities alike as a rising barometer of progress and prosperity. The social consequences are seldom recognized as simple cases of cause and effect, and still less often foreseen by the boosters. The New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning pointed out some of these consequences in these charts exhibited at the recent International Conference on Town, City and Regional Planning

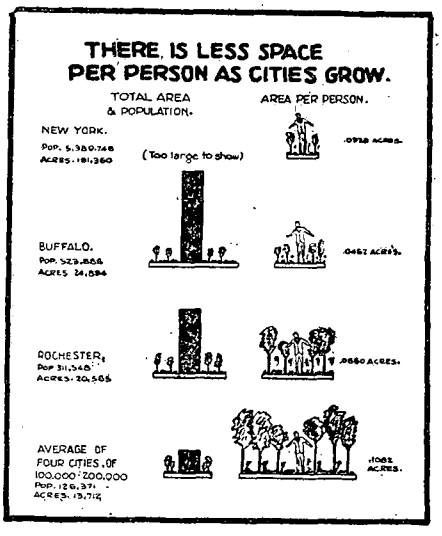

THE FUTURE NEW YORK?
6,015,000
EST., JULY 1, 1924.
15,385,000
ULTIMATE SIZE ACCORDING TO PEARL (PLAN OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS)
57,000,000
STANDING ROOM ONLY!
Assuming one-third of the land area of New York City covered with modern walk-up tenement construction, allowing one room per person, and disregarding other limiting factors.




THE TRANSIT PROBLEM GROWS MORE RAPIDLY THAN THE POPULATION.
~TRIPS PER CAPITA INCREASE~
NEW YORK 1860-1920
NEW YORK 1910-1924
LONDON 1902-1921


RENTS PER PERSON INCREASE IN THE LARGER CITIES
ANNUAL RENTS IN WORKERS' FAMILIES
1918-1919: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, BUL. 357.
HOUSES
FLATS & APARTMENTS
The dotted line marks the influence of exceptionally high rents in one city




THERE IS LESS SPACE PER PERSON AS CITIES GROW.
TOTAL AREA & POPULATION.
AREA PER PERSON.
NEW YORK.
(Too large to show)
BUFFALO.
ROCHESTER.
AVERAGE OF FOUR CITIES OF 100,000 TO 200,000

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EDUCATION

Adult Education and Our Civilization

Here Dr. Hart concludes the informal series of studies in adult education which he began in The Survey for January 15, 1925, with his definition of the ad-ult—one who is finished.

"WE ARE trying to establish the doctrine," said William Jennings Bryan, in an address at Westchester, Pa., on May 13, last, "we are trying to establish the doctrine that the taxpayer has the right to say what shall be taught in the schools—the taxpayer and not the scientist. There are only 11,000 members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. I don't believe that one in ten thousand should dictate to the rest of us. We'll find 109,000,000 Americans on the other side! This is a matter for the nation. It is one of the greatest questions ever raised—the question of the right of the people who created and support the schools to control them. If not they, then who?"

Mr. Bryan is, perhaps, a bit too sanguine. He has probably placed his figures too low on the one side, too high on the other. But no one can doubt that he has plenty of help in his campaign to make the world safe for ignorance. In fact, he is the front and center of what is probably the biggest adult education program in the world—the effort to build up and hold intact the great mass of the people in a firm and intolerant "fundamentalism." In comparison with this movement, most other adult education programs look like mole-hills alongside a mountain range.

Sadly enough, however, most of these other programs are foot-hills to this same mountain range. Our present general education of children tends to produce "ad-ults"—finished "minds" that are happy to find refuge in the dogmatisms of fundamentalism. Programs for the education of these "ad-ults" tend to make them still more finished, if that be possible; they are fearful that any freeing of the adult mind into science and discovery might bring on some sort of a revolution. Practically nowhere do we find a program that insists that the adult human being should become a free and enfranchised individual, working out his own judgments, taking charge of his own destiny and living as a self-governing person in a society of moral equals.

The high private in this campaign for ignorance is Mr. Bryan's "taxpayer." Who is this somewhat inflated person? Well, he is a "good" man and a parent. He works hard and supports his family. He pays his bills, including his taxes. He hopes eventually to have a competence (a different thing from becoming competent!). And he confidently expects to come to "a better-land" when he is through with this world of hard work and uncertainty.

But—his mind is cast in a mold that was made somewhere between 1858 and 1890. The year 1858 sums up all the dogmatisms of the ages. In 1859, Darwin published his Origin of Species, giving the clue to the new age—and promising a new intellectual and moral freedom. But the taxpayer has never accepted evolution: on that subject his mind is still "1858." He accepts many of the discoveries and inventions of modern science; automobiles and flying machines; electric lights and wireless; the radio—and he sometimes employs the findings of modern science for the cure of his ills. But he quite religiously keeps his mind from the disintegration that would come of understanding these things, and his heart from the sin of accepting the assumptions that have made their discovery and use possible.

Nor is this all: the taxpayer has other reserves, also. He has been taught by his political mentors to distrust any political doctrine not dated in the period from 1865 to 1880; by his economic advisers, to refuse any doctrine dated since 1890; by his moral teachers, to spew out any moral doctrine that, in any fashion, jars upon his primitive group attitudes.

From every point of view, therefore, he is fundamentally justified in attempting to control the teaching of the schools. His whole world is set; his mind is molded by this set; and he wants his children's minds to take on the same set. There can be no biology of a later date than 1858. There can be no acceptable political doctrine of a later date than 1880. There can be no economic doctrine of a later date than 1890—when the "American idea," free competition and the devil take the hindmost—was finally formulated. As for morality, Adam and Eve knew all that we need to know! And what are schools for if not to make sure that what the parents believe, and the taxpayers pay for, the children must accept and respect and follow? No one but a question-begging scientist would argue otherwise!

WHO is this "scientist" who is accused of trying to supercede the "taxpayer" in the control of the schools? He is, it must be confessed, a childish sort of fellow: he wants to learn about the world—a distinctly childish performance—instead of controlling the world and laying down laws to it, activities more becoming to the ad-ult, the taxpayer and the parent. He admits there are some things he does not know, thus showing how lacking he is in dignity and virility, and how unfit he is to teach children. And he is very tiresome: instead of sitting down with a good book and enjoying our treasures of culture, he must run round the world digging up unpleasant fossils, remains, specimens, facts. As if we did not now know far more than we can use; as if we did not now know too many things—such as evolution—that are not true!

But specifically, he is irreverent. In any conflict between nature and "revelation" he follows nature, as if a fact were more important than a belief. He knows that nature has

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ruined humanity. He knows that the little morality the race has achieved has come by an endless fight against nature. Yet he goes right on following nature. And he wants the school to follow nature. He wants teachers to teach nature. And he wants nature to mean evolution!

SHOULD anyone be surprised that there is a more or less general mobilization of the forces of reaction against the scientist? It began in war-time, when political and economic fundamentalists undertook to drive all teachers who had intelligence, as distinct from safe and sane knowledge, out of the schools. It has been stimulated by recent developments amongst the younger generation who seem, at times, to be throwing all old restraints overhead. Business men are interested in financing this general mobilization. the leading real estate operator who recently sent a check for $500 to help finance a moral and religious education program, saying that he regarded such a program "as a business investment" [see The Survey for March 15, 1925, p. 748], was but joining, with the sinews of war, in this universal mobilization.

It is in this way, without doubt, that Mr. Bryan comes to his estimate of 109,000,000 Americans who are on his side. It seems unlikely that there are that many religious fundamentalists in the country. But there are a good many political, economic, and moral fundamentalists, some of whom may be quite modernist in religion, who will unite with the religionists to throttle the schools. One of the comic aspects of the situation appears in the spectacle of a political modernist who is a religious fundamentalist and an economic fundamentalist who is, ostensibly, a religious modernist, uniting in a common cause to drive all modern ideas out of the schools. There are not 109,000,000 people in America who agree on all the details of any one of these programs; but, properly stampeded, they might reach an agreement on one detail of all of them, namely, that no civilization could long endure under a program of free teaching, free investigation, and free minds; they could all agree that security lies in molding the minds of children to a standard set of contents approved by the general opinion of the nation.

The Flathead Indians, of Montana, were original fundamentalists. They didn't like the shape which nature provided for the heads of their babies. So, from birth each baby was bandaged to a board in such a way that its head was gradually flattened to conform to a doctrine handed down from the Flathead "Moses." When the process was complete, the child came forth from the board and the bandages, a finished Flathead. That was fundamentalism in that tribe; and who will have the temerity to argue that the ad-ult, the taxpayer and the parent, in that tribe, did not have the right to say what should be done in such matters? If not they, then who? But the Flatheads flattened merely the outside of the head of a child. Our traditionalists would flatten the insides of the heads of the children of America. A flat, stale and unprofitable world they would make of it. But it would be "right"—and that's enough!

Is there no way out? Yes, the way that is implied in the nature of science. Traditionalists, of all sorts, spend time, energy and unlimited funds in keeping up the bulwarks of the past. But scientists have assumed that truth was so inherently desirable and vital that it would conquer the world by its own initiative. Now, few scientific discoveries have been, so far, acceptable, at first, to the age in which they first appeared; and human beings do not hunger and thirst after reason. How did the fundamentalists in Athens escape the profound questionings that Socrates addressed to them? They called attention to the fact that he had a snub nose!

Children are, nearly all, incipient scientists—incurably inquisitive; there are, at least, 11,000 scientists in America. What might not be accomplished for the future if these 11,000 scientists were allowed free access to the millions of children! But between these two groups, the immature and the mature scientists, like a great barrier range stand the millions of dogmatists, their eyes, their ears and their minds closed (but their mouths open). What to do?

THERE are some teachers who still believe in free education; there are some preachers who hold to the spirit and let the letter go; there are some statesmen who believe in the endless renewal of the civic virtue of the generations; there are some industrialists who begin to fear that anti-science will not know when its work is finished; there are some ethical leaders who hold that morality has made some gains since, for example, the day when Moses taught the Hebrews that it was all right for them to sell their spoiled meats to strangers.

It might be possible—if these believers in intelligence and science and freedom could get together—it might be possible to organize a program of adult education that would, bit by bit, release many of these scared minds from the shackles of their traditions and their fears and enable them to become enfranchised intelligences in a free and open world. With adequate kindling, even a little fire would become a flame that would burn through the tangled wildernesses of old superstitions and ignorances and ghastly intolerances. And it might, in time, even melt the barrier range that stands between the two types of scientists, and

Rollin Kirby in the New York World

GATHERING DATA FOR THE TENNESSEE TRIAL

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Rollin Kirby in the New York World

BACK TO THE INQUISITION

open the way to an education for children that would keep them from ever becoming other than scientists.

But in the long run, such a hope must be believed in and shared by all who believe in freedom of the mind; it must be financed by those who think such a world worth spending their money for; it must be worked for by all who have any sort of technique for contributing to the outcome. This is what Adult Education will some day turn out to be—nothing less than this.

It will probably turn out to be more: it will include the most intelligent programs of eugenics and of birth control, so that moribund and inadequate stocks will be eliminated. It will strive for the reconstruction of institutions, so that the more repressive aspects of our traditionalisms will be continuously investigated and eliminated. It will develop an elementary education that will not produce "ad-ults"—at least, not beyond the number nature has made inevitable by reproducing subnormal stocks. It will spread the doctrines and the spirit of science universally amongst men, and make natural and real the legend that men are rational beings.

That's a long way off? Yes; and the barrier range stands at present in the way. But mountains are being moved these days, in the building of cities; and they will have to be moved in the building of civilization, also. It seems not unlikely that the tremendous fight which the traditionalists, in all lines, are now undertaking is motivated largely by fear. The forces of science, of intelligence, of freedom, and of the larger future are moving slowly, but they are moving irresistibly. There is, at any rate, no logical stopping-place for the advocates of adult education short of the goal of the complete enfranchisement of the whole human race and the participation of all in the organization and control of the common destiny.

JOSEPH K. HART

Tar Baby and the Lammers

A FORD coupé and some tact are necessary qualifications of a visiting teacher. Ford cars and visiting teachers, called into being by the mechanical and educational needs of mankind, are natural affinities. Fate sent them down different lanes of evolution, but in 1907 they met, or in some cases ran into one another. Of the Ford, more later.

In 1906-07 educators in Boston, Hartford and New York, feeling the need for some one to study maladjusted children from the point of view of the school, the home, and the neighborhood asked the Burbanks of education to grow them a strange, new variety of teacher, a combination of truant officer, school nurse, class room instructor and social worker. The response was what is now known as the visiting teacher or home visitor. A long missing link between the school and the home. In the visiting teacher, the social worker predominates, yet there are to be found about her person vestigial remains of her other functions—truant officer, school nurse and classroom instructor.

The home visiting teacher is the most direct and frequent medium between home and school which education possesses. She deals with anything referred to her by parents, principal or teachers. She uses all the means existing in the home, as well as those within the school, connected with or cooperating with it. Every one else being more fixed than is the visiting teacher, she must be willing to go or to stay, to sit or to stand, to listen or to talk, to mediate, mitigate, or militate. Her day is a monotony of variety.

Always there are the problems of failures in scholarship and failures in conduct with causes most complex. Heredity? Environment? Which? I used to think that over the shoulders of every child peered generations of his ancestors. I imagined I saw hardy Highlanders, temperamental Irishmen, searoving Vikings or more langorous people from sunnier climes. Sometimes I was almost embarrassed by these peering ancestors, an embarrassment which has lessened since coming to believe that environment plays a greater part than does heredity. I am now much more concerned with the very direct glances of the fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers whom I meet in the homes.

Children fail in both scholarship and conduct because they lack adjustment, educational, physical or emotional. Black hatred of some subject sends boys in my district to hide in the woods. I spent gasoline to no avail on a certain boy named James, until I learned from James and his mother how the lad loathed music and art. He said he had no voice and lived in fear of being called to sing a solo. The arts made his tame breast savage. "Why can't I drop them?" he implored. "Why not?" said his teachers. "Why not?" said I to the principal. It is now a year since poor James was delivered from music, art and truancy at one stroke. In certain cases, the greatest service the school can do the home is to make some such change. Which after all is sacred, the course of study or the child?

The emotionally disturbed child is to be reached often only through some change in environment. I once asked the parents of a boy who was a behavior case, to forego quarrelings and threatenings of divorce until he had finished high school. He had told me in gloomy slang that he "was goin' to beat it, if they didn't quit chewin' the rag where he was." Conversations at home were endurance tests be-

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tween the perents to see who should have the last word. They agreed to "cut it all out for the kid's sake." The boy gave no more trouble after that, commenced to look happy, actually gain flesh and will graduate next year.

Badly dressed children are apt to be unhappy and to take it out in some conduct disorder. An old red sweater huddled up around a boy's neck is an irritant to more than his ears. He perhaps knows he is making no hit with the girl near him, and there will be attempted compensation somewhere in the school that day for the humiliation. Often a pretty dress for a hoydenish girl acts like a charm. To be forced to wear a long, full skirt when skirts are short and skimp develops a bad streak in many an otherwise well behaved girl.

Whenever the fateful sentense is heard, "I'll have to get a job," there must be first aid from the visiting teacher. If a boy has just passed his sixteenth birthday and left school without notice, then the school visitor must try to get him once more into the fold. Parents are cordial, interested, and often surprised that we take the trouble. Violets in early spring are not prettier than is the sight of one of these rescued ones to the rescuer.

But often there is no rescue. Not long ago, a mere scrap of humanity just fourteen, blue-eyed, fair, immature in every way, followed me down the hall to say, "My gradmother says to ask you if I can't get a work permit and a job. I must go to work." I visited. He must indeed go to work. Twelve dollars a week, earned by his grandmother who worked in a laundry, did not give much margin for herself, the boy, and the grandfather, old and sick. Through the placement bureau, one day, there came news of a job for the blue-eyed scrap. Rejoicing! Back he came to wind up his business at school, rescue his gym shoes, return his locker padlock, and get his precious fifty cents, restore certain objects to other "guys" and bid good-bye to teachers. He was flushed and happy at the future unrolling before him, for was he not to be a gorgeous errand boy? Poor little Soldier of Fortune. It all looked like a fine, new game to him. He could not know that almost surely the cards were stacked against him. The big worry now is lest he lose that precious job by "playing around out," for there is likely to be quite a bit of play yet left in a lad of fourteen.

But to return to the Ford "coop" left parked in the first paragraph. If the visiting teacher lacks tact—why, she must get some, that is all, for without tact her day will not only be a monotony of variety but a monotony of narrow escapes or disasters as well. All year long she edges her perilous way between pupils, teachers, principals, clerks, parents, societies, departments, clinics, boards of education and parent-teachers' association. But like all animals leading a hazardous existence, she learns arts by which to survive. In addition to some tact, she is supposed to have some resourcefulness, some courage and some sympathy; yet if she be not possessed of some strong, democratic-looking vehicle to convey swiftly the totality of these virtues to her "case," she spells failure. However, Nature has provided the snail his house, the turtle his shell, and the visiting teacher her Ford.

And it must be a Ford, mind, not a Chevrolet, a Maxwell, or a Dodge, those little brothers of the rich. Such cars, pulled up before humble homes, look too much the well-meaning aristocrat saying, "I have come to do thee good"; whereas, a Ford, snub-nosed, undignified, with a freckle or two of mud on its countenance, may park in the very eye of poverty without inflaming it.

As an opener of conversations, too, a Ford is an asset. The weather as a topic, it is said, rescues yearly from death in infancy 999,999 conversations of every possible million. The Ford has arrived to salvage that one remaining struggler. Following is a specimen conversation establishing social contact—Ford motif. Visiting teacher sees a man tinkering with a Ford in a yard, next to home of Edward Swanson, chronic truant.

V. T. (cheerfully): How do you do?
Man (warily): How do you do?
V. T. (perseveringly cheerful): Cleaning spark plugs? I must learn to do that. I paid $1.60 yesterday to have one done.
Man: Cheated you, Miss, no trick about cleanin' them yourself.
V. T.: I don't see why I have that trouble so often.
Man: Too rich a mixture, punk gas, or worn piston rings. Drive much?
V. T.: Yes, I'm the visiting teacher from the John Ericson high school. I'd like to find Edward Swanson, but the house is closed. Any idea where he is?
Man: Him and some other kids has a cave over there in the woods. Might be down by the Falls, tho'. Tough guy, Ed. His mother left Swanson a few years ago, and Ed's as wild as a rabbit. Digs out as soon as the old man goes to work. Swanson thinks he's parked in the school.
V. T.: Many boys around this neighborhood evenings?
Man: Yes, a gang usually down on that corner. Tell you a trick you might pull on Ed. He's got a rich uncle somewheres might help you run him into some strict school. It's worth a try, anyway.
V. T.: Thanks for the suggestion. I'll see what I can do. Good-bye.
Man: Good-bye, Miss. Glad to help a teacher any time. Ever try a few moth balls to put more kick in your gas? A bag of sand in the back of that little bus would make it ride easier, too.

Since I bought my car, Tar Baby, I see what interesting social changes follow changes in locomotion. I have been so often and so kindly cranked up, thawed out, dug out, towed in, loaned tools and advised, that I rejoice in the goodness of human nature, but at the same time I am alarmed at the growing depravity of my own nature. When my engine gives a long, yawing sound and slumps into sour silence I mutter too, too naturally words not found in any social worker's hand-book. When a dirty spark plug sets up that epileptic motion which means the nearest garage and two dollars, the savage in me breaks out quickly through that thin veneer of civilization with which we are so lightly overcast.

Once I was a poor pedestrian grub, clambering on an infrequent street car and toiling humbly up and down three sides of the rectangle which my district forms. Now in Tar Baby, swift and beautiful, hatched by science, I spread wings woven of gasoline and alcohol and flash across the fourth side of the rectangle, making ten calls to grow where but five grew before.

But for my speed I pay a price. Gone are the large malted milk specials and the open sandwiches openly arrived at in corner drug stores and groceries the while I waited for street cars. Gone are the friendly chats with the proprietors of these corner establishments and with short-line conductors, who always have ten minutes leisure before starting the run. The grocers and druggists are valuable unofficial files of information concerning neighborhood

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conditions in general and are always friendly and interested in my work. One street car conductor insists upon visualizing me in terms of trouble. His usual greeting is, "Well, how many kids are you goin' to run in today?" Or, "Still pickin' 'em up, I see." Eager to emphasize the constructive side of my work, I tell him of certain things I do to prevent delinquency. He remarks in reply, "I left school early. Wish there'd been some one like you around to break every bone in my body for doin' it." A cop I am to him, a cop and nothing more.

And how my Ford and I do take the joy out of life for "lammers," which in the West means "truants." The rhythm of the changing seasons has, I suppose, a significance peculiar to each of the different professions. Once I heard a doctor remark as he gazed dreamily at a certain kind of winter storm, "Great weather for tonsils." The Iowa farmer in summer says, "Great corn weather." On certain magic days, spring and fall, I say, "Great weather for lammers!" and search apprehensively for certain names on the absence sheet. If such occur, I buy more gas and move on.

One day last autumn, when the whole countryside flashed green and gold, and every bush was a-burning, Olaf, a friend of mine, aged fourteen, heard the River Bottoms, (an enchanted region near the Falls of Minnehaha) calling with all too siren a song. His parents had seen him start schoolward that morning with an unusually studious look. He did not arrive. This news was quickly relayed from class room teachers and attendance clerk to Tar Baby and we were soon chugging up to his father's grocery store to say that Olaf was not in school. "Not in school, eh?" The rising reflection. Alas for Olaf! "I'll settle wid that kid, gude and plenty, I tal yu."

As we rattled off on missions more or less merciful, I felt that in a sense, I had betrayed a lover of nature. But law and order must be preserved. Yet what halcyon days! And, of course, one must go to school. But such colors as must be trumpeting around Olaf and his "side-kick" in the River Bottoms! What if I also became a castaway?

In the necessary conversation with Olaf the next day, I learned of mystic rites observed between father and son in the woodshed behind the grocery. He was a short-set, sturdy little Viking, with a poker face and unchanging blue eyes. He was willing to do any penance the school required, but I had an uneasy feeling that he had a heart unrepentant. I cannot vouch that he will not "lam" again when the River Bottoms take fire next autumn. But then, why build a school near the Falls of Minnehaha!

Sometimes I return to the school before the close of the afternoon session. The building viewed from the outside is handsome, modern, the best looking building in the district. Is it my fancy that it seems a bit aloof, remote? The people of the district worked hard to get this school; they are immensely proud of it, and sometimes, I think, a trifle afraid of it.

I pass within the building. The bell terminating the fifth period will soon ring. I stand close to the wall to avoid the traffic. Doors fly open on every floor. Here they come, the many just ones with whom I have little to do, and the few not so just with whom I have much to do. I know well that in that crowd surging past me go altogether too many who will drop out because of poverty. I know that passing me are too many who will emerge as serious problem cases, troubles which might be averted could the school adapt itself more rapidly to the needs of the individual. Yet I am not depressed, but on the contrary very hopeful.

As the pupils pass on their way to another hour of shop, laboratory, library, cooking, sewing, gymnasium, orchestra, chorus, study, or recitation, they seem to me products of something hopeful. Their different destinations suggest a promising variety of courses and programs, evidence that the public schools do seek to respond to the changing needs of a democracy. I feel that in the matter of adjusting to a changing world, the schools compare favorably with the church, the courts of law, and penal institutions. The schools are not afraid of what science reveals, nor are they losing time and authority by trying to legislate new knowledge out of existence. I am glad that in some way I assist in the gigantic experiment in free education—the education of all the children of all the people? (Must I use the quotation mark?)

Cheered by the review I have just seen, I return to my office to write up my calls. Later I shall back Tar Baby into her stall, give her a nip of gas or oil, and trust that in tomorrow's adventures we may both take the hills in high.

BERTHA FERGUSON

IN ORDER to cope with the growing tendency of young people to spend their youth in dissipating activities, the director of vocational education in California intends to work for the passage of a bill authorizing the setting up of non-technical vocational high schools in which, he hopes, these young people will be willing to learn how to make a better use of their youthful years. Meanwhile California, like every other "progressive" state keeps on building and buying automobiles, producing and selling gasoline, building and repairing good roads to all points. What's to become of our automobile factories and our surplus gasoline if young people suddenly become studious? What's the use of having roads if no one ever uses them? (Eastern, northern and southern papers, please copy!)

MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK is a new magazine devoted to the interests of the southern mountaineers. It is published by Berea College in Kentucky and edited by Marshall Everett Vaughn, secretary of Berea College and a native Kentuckian. There is also a group of contributing editors, among them Dr. E. C. Branson of the University of North Carolina and Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The mountain people have battled with their environment and too often the environment has conquered them. The editors believe that the mountaineers' problem differs from the rural problem of the rest of the country only in degree. Given a farming population of 4,000,000 out of a total of 5,500,000, the difficulties of life in a rugged district, the isolation, the prejudice, the ignorance may be intense, but should be dealt with as they are in more accessible rural communities. Through a better knowledge of himself the mountaineer can be helped; and the magazine intends to correct false ideas of his life and characteristics fostered by sensational fiction and newspaper stories. The editor says: "We want the story of the farmer who is battling with nature, of the teacher who is living out in a desolate district and grappling with illiteracy and the poverty of that district, of the miner who lives amid the dangers of a hazardous occupation, of the ambitions and aspirations of the million and a half boys and girls who live in the mountains."

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HEALTH

Tuberculosis In Dusty Trades

THE problem of industrial tuberculosis is ancient. Hippocrates, the Father of Medicine, speaks of the metal miner as a man who "breathes with difficulty" and "is of pale, wan complexion." Agricola declares in his book on metallurgy (published in 1556) that "some mines are so dry that they are entirely devoid of water, and this dryness causes the workman even greater harm, for the dust which is stirred and beaten up by digging penetrates into the windpipe and lungs, and produces difficulty in breathing and the disease which the Greeks call asthma. If the dust has corrosive qualities, it eats away the lungs, and implants consumption in the body; hence in the mines of the Carpathian Mountains women are found who have married seven husbands, all of whom this terrible consumption has carried off to a premature death."

How little the condition has changed in four hundred years is clearly indicated by statistics recently collected in the United States. The problem has been somewhat confused by the careless use of industrial insurance statistics based on the ratio of tuberculosis deaths to total deaths and involving the fallacious comparison of tuberculosis ratios for so-called dusty trades with similar ratios for the general population as a whole—ignoring entirely important differences in social and economic status. For at least two groups of workers in the United States exposed to silica dust we have, however, full and controlled data. For the granite cutters of Vermont, Hoffman gives the following striking figures. (Bulletin 293, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: the Problem of Dust Phthisis in the Granite Stone Industry.) The steady increase in mortality is attributed to an increasing dust hazard created by the use of modern pneumatic tools.

MORTALITY FROM PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS AMONG GRANITE CUTTERS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE GENERAL ADULT POPULATION OF VERMONT

Period	Deaths per 100,000 Population	
	Granite cutters	Adult population of state
1896-99	394	190
1900-4	353	166
1905-9	719	149
1910-14	801	120
1915-18	1,064	108

An altogether similar case is the record of a Connecticut ax factory reported by W. H. Drury in Public Health Reports, vol. 36, p. 159. The factory is situated in an otherwise agricultural district and through the circumstance that both the superintendent and the medical consultant of the factory had been in the employ of the company for twenty years it was possible to follow up every death certificate in the four adjoining towns and determine the actual occupation of the deceased. The startling results obtained are indicated in the table below.

MORTALITY FROM PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS AMONG THE EMPLOYES OF A CONNECTICUT AX FACTORY AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE POPULATION OF ADJACENT TOWNS AND OF THE STATE AS A WHOLE

1900-1919

	Deaths per 100,000
State of Connecticut	150
" " " Male population	170
Ax factory district (3 towns)	200
Employees of Ax Factory, all	650
" " " " polishers and grinders	1,900
" " " " all others	160

Thus the entire population of the mill district showed a tuberculosis rate of 200 as compared with 150 for the state as a whole. The mill population itself has a rate rising to 650, and the group of polishers and grinders the astounding rate of 1900. The other employes of the mill are not entirely comparable in age, race, and general social and economic status with the polishers and grinders, but it is evident that a death rate among polishers and grinders ten times the normal figure can only be accounted for by the specific hazards of their occupation. Nor is tuberculosis the only form in which they pay a penalty for their deadly employment. Dr. Drury reports that the mortality from pulmonary infections other than tuberculosis for the period 1900 to 1919 was 430 per 100,000 for the polishers and grinders, as compared with 170 for the other employees of the ax factory.

Such conditions as these are to be looked for in one particular group of industrial processes—those which involve exposure to finely divided silica dust. It is probable that the inhalation of very large amounts of dust of any kind produces some irritation of the mucous membranes and may perhaps favor the development of acute diseases of the respiratory tract, such as bronchitis; so far as the dusts of vegetable origin are concerned, there is, however, very little concrete evidence that such is the case. Among persons exposed to dusts like coal and cement, on the other hand, we have clear evidence of an excessive incidence of the acute respiratory diseases.

Dublin reported that the influenza-pneumonia mortality in 1918 was twice as high among coal miners as in the general industrial population. So far as tuberculosis is concerned, however, coal and cement dust seem to produce a state of immunity rather than one of increased susceptibility. Hoffman finds that the coal-mining districts have a mortality from acute respiratory diseases 28 per cent above normal but a tuberculosis mortality 21 per cent less than that for the rest of the state.

The reason for this difference in action of the different kinds of dust is still very obscure. We know that the inhalation of either coal or silica dust produces quite definite pathological changes in the lungs, characterized by a process known as fibrosis. The condition which results is called

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"anthracosis" when it is due to coal dust—"silicosis" when it is due to silica dust. Both anthracosis and silicosis increase susceptibility to acute respiratory diseases, such as bronchitis and pneumonia; but silicosis also predisposes to tuberculosis while anthracosis does not. Krause believes that the peculiar effect of the silica dust is largely due to the fact that dust of this type is less readily removed from the lung and therefore produces a higher degree of fibrosis with consequent blocking of the lymph channels of the lung. English students of this problem are inclined to postulate the formation of colloidal silica which they believe exerts a specific chemical effect upon the cells of the lung tissue. Whatever the explanation, the facts are very clear. It is among metal miners, marble and granite workers, sand-blasters, potters, grinders and polishers—the industries exposed to silica dust—that industrial tuberculosis becomes a major problem.

WHERE the dust hazard exists in industry, it can be controlled in a number of different ways, depending on the nature of the particular process. Sometimes the dusty process may be carried on in enclosed vessels of some kind so that the escape of dust into the atmosphere of the workroom may be minimized. Sometimes the dust can be kept down by the substitution of wet for dry processes or by the special addition of atmospheric moisture. In the South African mines, the use of water sprays has cut the dust content of the air to less than a tenth of its former figure. A more general mode of protection is the installation of systems of special exhaust ventilation such as are used in good grinding and polishing shops, where hoods are placed over (or under) the wheels and connected by ducts with powerful exhaust fans. The chief conditions essential to the success of such a system are four in number: the design of the hoods themselves so that the point where the dust is generated may be covered as completely as possible without interfering with the work, and as closely as possible so that a full suction velocity may be maintained; the arrangement of the suction draft so that it may operate with and not against the centrifugal force which throws the dust particles from the wheel; the elimination of all obstacles between the hood and the main exhaust duct which may decrease the velocity of suction; and the maintenance of an adequate suction head in the main exhaust duct itself.

Observations made by Greenburg and the writer (published in Public Health Reports, vol. 34, p. 427) show that such systems of special exhaust ventilation may keep the air of a grinding shop almost as free from dust as the atmosphere of an ordinary room. In one typical workshop, with forty-nine polishing wheels more or less constantly in operation the dust content of the air was kept down to 200,000 particles per cubic foot with the exhaust system in operation, while when the velocity of the exhaust fan was reduced the count rose to 863,000 particles.

Finally, in certain industrial processes as in packing operations, in marble and granite workings, and in the sand-blasting of large castings, it is impossible by any of the means previously described to keep the air of the workplace free from dangerous concentrations of mineral and metallic (or poisonous) dusts. In such cases as this, the only alternative is the wearing of respirators which filter out the dust particles from the air before it is drawn into the lungs, or of helmets which exclude the dusty atmosphere more or less completely from the mouth and nose and supply pure air for breathing from some other source. All such devices are uncomfortable and irksome to the wearer and the necessity for using them should be avoided wherever possible by the installation of the other devices. In certain employments, however, the respirator or helmet offers the only possible means of protection.

How effective these devices may be (particularly the helmet with positive air supply) is indicated by the table below, from studies conducted in a Bridgeport sand-blast chamber (Public Health Reports, vol. 34, p. 518).

EFFICIENCY OF RESPIRATOR AND HELMET IN CONTROLLING THE DUST CONTENT OF AIR FROM A SAND-BLAST CHAMBER

Source of air	Average dust particles per cubic foot
Untreated air of chamber	6,880,000
Air passed through respirator alone	4,549,000
Air passed through helmet and respirator	2,047,000
Air passed through helmet alone but with positive air supply	368,000
Air passed through helmet with positive air supply and respirator	156,000

Respirators for protection against dusts are usually made of rubber fitting over the mouth and nose and including a filtering layer of cloth or sponge. Their efficiency varies widely and requires careful study in the individual case. The use of a helmet supplied through a tube with fresh air creating an outward current through its openings will often perhaps serve better than any of these filtering devices, and will prove more comfortable where the worker remains in a given place so that the air supply for the helmet can be easily maintained.

WE cannot, of course, assume that the dust hazard has been effectively controlled merely because one or the other of these protective devices has been introduced. Enclosed processes, wet processes, local exhaust systems and respirators, may work efficiently or inefficiently, according to their construction and operation in relation to a given situation. In the very ax factory, cited above, which showed such an appalling death rate a wet grinding process was in use; and this case furnishes a striking demonstration of the fact that even wet grinding may prove an exceedingly hazardous occupation, if conducted on soft wheels of natural sandstone and without adequate control.

Nor is it at all possible to judge of the seriousness of a dust hazard by mere visual inspection. An abrasive factory at Niagara Falls containing 160,000,000 particles per cubic foot did not look, when I inspected it, any more dusty than many an ordinary workroom. Determination of the actual dust content of the air by analytical methods furnishes the only key to the problem.

What we need is:

First of all, the discovery of the factories where a dust hazard may apparently exist;

Second, a study of conditions by competent analysis for the determination of the actual dust content of the air;

Third, the development of protective measures along one or the other of the lines laid down above.

For determination of dust content and for counsel in regard to remedial measures we must naturally look to city and state health departments, to state labor departments and to the United States Public Health Service (which has played a leading part in the study of industrial dusts during the past twenty years).

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What the social worker can do is to serve as an intelligence department for searching out the danger spots and calling them to the attention of the constituted authorities. They may learn, on the one hand, of factories where some of the processes which have been discussed above are carried on; or, on the other hand, they may gain a clue to the existence of dust hazards by contact with their end-products—if they will systematically question all cases of tuberculosis in regard to their previous employment.

The inclusion of silicosis under the lists of compensable diseases in our workmen's compensation acts would perhaps accomplish more than any other single measure for the reduction of this hazard; and social workers would do well to bend special efforts toward the early attainment of this end.

That industrial tuberculosis is by no means a minor hazard, affecting only a few isolated groups of workmen, is clearly seen by reference to the reports of the Registrar-General of England and Wales, which give data far more complete than any which are available in the United States.

The pertinent data from the last report (for 1910-12) are cited in the table below.

COMPARATIVE MORTALITY FROM PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS IN CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS

	England and Wales 1910-1912
All occupied males	141
Clergymen	45
Coal miners	75
Messengers, porters, watchmen	252
Seamen, etc., merchant service	257
*Potters, earthenware manufacturers	282
*Tool, scissors, file, saw, needle makers	306
Inn, hotel servants	309
*Lead miners	335
Costermongers, hawkers	419
*File makers	434
*Cutlers, scissors makers	466
*Tin miners	678

These figures are not in terms of deaths per 100,000 but in the form of arbitrary comparative mortality figures. I have therefore included at the top of the table the comparable figure for all occupied males and the lowest figure given, that for clergymen; and also the figure for coal miners to compare with that for tin miners below. It will be noted that the rate for tin miners (with silica dust) is nearly ten times that for coal miners (without silica dust).

I have included in this table every occupation given by the Registrar-General with a comparative mortality figure for tuberculosis over 250; and it will be noted that, of the ten occupations which exhibit such excessive rates, six are occupations exposed to silica dust, including all of the three in excess of 420.

There has been argument, of late, in regard to the relative weight of various factors in the determination of the prevalence of tuberculosis. I am familiar with no single factor in the entire list, whether hereditary or environmental, which shows so clear and so striking a statistical relation to the tuberculosis death rate as exposure to the inhalation of siliceous dusts.

C.—E. A. WINSLOW, DR. P. H.

* *Exposed to silica dust.*

Bringing Orphanage Children Into the Safety-Weight Zone

OUR nutrition program was worked out primarily for children in clinics, homes and schools. When opportunity was afforded to use it in the care of children in orphan "homes" we were glad to be able to compare the results obtained under conditions of especially adequate control with those found under more usual circumstances. We are now able to summarize these results as they have appeared during several years' experience in fourteen leading children's institutions in states ranging from Colorado to Massachusetts.

Like other theorists, when I first made a serious attack upon malnutrition in 1908 I supposed that it was due primarily to insufficient and improper food, for which inadequate incomes were mainly responsible. Elsewhere there is a record of the investigations which led me to see that this theory was not supported by the evidence which one finds in direct work with the children. At this time it is sufficient to name the causes deduced from this study in the order of their importance: physical defects, especially obstructions to breathing; lack of personal and home control, factors usually considered under mental hygiene; over-fatigue; faulty food habits and food; faulty health habits.

At present there is very little opportunity to correct even the first of these causes. Few children receive any physical examination. The so-called medical inspection in the schools, like other wholesale or blanket methods, does little to help and often does actual harm by causing teachers and parents to be blind to positive defects, supposing that something has been accomplished by means which, in their very nature, are necessarily futile. Every child should be given a complete physical-growth examination at least once a year in the presence of those who are responsible for his wellbeing.

In addition to this physical-growth examination we have found it important to make use of two other tests—the social examination and the mental examination. When the mental hygiene program had been formulated I discovered that its material covered much of the same ground as that with which we were concerned in correcting the second and third causes of malnutrition—lack of home control and over-fatigue. The first step is to obtain a complete record of a child's activities and feeding for a period of forty-eight consecutive hours. We also take account of the family history, and at this time and during the period he is under care we keep closely in touch with his various interests, activities and occupations.

After the diagnosis has been made we find that our most effective tool is the class or group method. The weight chart is the central factor by means of which the child's interest is held and his reaction measured. By means of this device we can follow not only the effects of variation in food but also changes in food habits; the over-fatigue of undue physical requirements, over-exercise, school examina-

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tions, failure to make promotion, unfortunate conditions of home control; the effects of toxic conditions and their removal as well as many other less frequent but potent factors in accomplishing or retarding proper growth or development. One might as well expect to discuss the processes of making a home comfortable in terms of fuel only as to limit nutrition to food.

I have never yet found a child who is habitually 7 per cent or more under-weight for his height who does not show other unmistakable signs of malnutrition. In the school and pre-school population throughout the country about one-third are in this danger zone. Among the children in orphanages this proportion often runs as high as 50 per cent and not infrequently more than 60 per cent have been found below average weight for height, showing a condition unfitted to afford normal resistance to respiratory and other diseases which are the most common causes of waste of life.

In an institution there need be no delay in making physical-growth and social examinations which present data necessary for diagnosis. Also when conditions appear which call for correction it is possible to proceed at once to effect the desired changes. In one "home" 90 per cent of the children were brought up to normal weight within six months. In another 82 per cent were "over the top" within two months. In the first group an average gain of 10.8 pounds was accomplished in twenty-nine weeks and no child made less than 10 pounds gain in a year's time. In a third institution a reduction from 33 per cent to 14 per cent underweight was brought about from September to June. In this city at the close of a year's demonstration in the homes for orphans the following comparative distribution of underweight appeared:

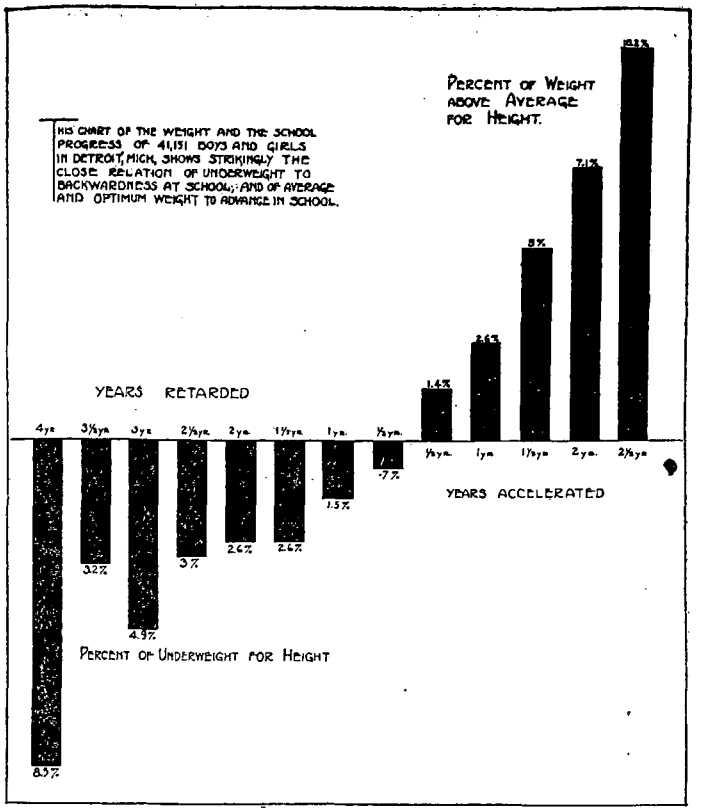
	Orphanages *Per cent underweight*	Schools *Per cent underweight*
American White	15	40
German	3.3	35-40
Colored	4.3	22

In another city 64.5 of the children in the institution were found to be below par. This was reduced 90 per cent and nearly all the children who were still underweight were newly enrolled and had been in the home less than a month. In another group here a similar 90 per cent advance was made, the children not yet up to standard were accounted for in such terms as the following: "Only with us six weeks," "Continually on the move," "Needs an operation for diseased tonsils but this has been delayed because the child is suffering from a contagious disease." In this institution half the new cases admitted were in immediate need of care in the nutrition class. In a fourth group sixty-five children with the usual proportions of underweight within a few months were brought up so that only two were still below par.

Again forty-one children within three months made the following changes in distribution:

	February	May
Safety-weight zone (0 to 20 per cent above average)	62.5	83
Borderline (Less than 7 per cent underweight)	22.5	14.5
Seriously underweight	15.0	2.5

The one child still remaining in the danger zone was a cardiac patient who had made a good beginning but on account of special complications had suffered a relapse.



This chart of the weight and the school progress of 41,151 boys and girls in Detroit, Michigan, shows strikingly the close relation of underweight to backwardness at school, and of average and optimum weight to advance in schools. The statistics are those of Packer and Moehlman, A Preliminary Study of Standards of Growth in the Detroit Public Schools, presented in the Detroit Educational Bulletin, June 1921, pages 24-25

A most interesting experience occurred in a city which has two Jewish institutions for orphan children. One of these had 38 per cent and the other 48 per cent underweight. The former began at once upon our program while the latter decided to work the problem out on other lines. Within two months the first had reduced its underweight from 38 per cent to 31 per cent. After six months the second group had accomplished a reduction of only 7 per cent and it was decided that the nutrition program would be adopted. On this basis the underweight was practically eliminated within a short time.

In all instances we have had most effective cooperation from the superintendents and the members of the staff. In many instances it has been recognized that undue emphasis has been placed upon means of making a direct attack upon improved mental fitness when an appreciation of immediate physical needs and the accomplishment of improved physical fitness brought about better mental condition than had been possible under the former program.

The census reports more than a thousand institutions for children in the United States. We all appreciate the advantages arising from the tendency to place dependent children in 'foster" and real homes in place of the older mass system, yet while we have the institution with us it is important to recognize what it can accomplish in achieving physical fitness and see to it that all of these groups bring about what the fourteen have already done—the practical elimination of underweight and the placing of the children in a safety-weight zone of physical fitness.

WM. R. P. EMERSON, M.D.

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How Sheffield Farms Does It

The present is an era of unusual tranquility in the American world of industrial relations, but it is not an era of stagnation. Recent issues of The Survey have contained accounts of experiments in cooperation between managements and independently unionized men in the railroad repair shops and the clothing industry in which the center of interest has shifted from the haggle over hours and wages to the technical problems of the industry. In the present article, George W. Alger, attorney for the Sheffield Farms Company, an organization which has pioneered in the development of scientific practice in the handling of milk tells the story of a significant experiment in collective bargaining involving the company's city employes at one end and the farmers who supply it with milk at the other. Such experiments must have an important effect upon the future, both of collective bargaining and producers cooperation

TWO experiments in industrial peace, made by Sheffield Farms Company, one of the oldest as well as one of the largest of American milk companies, deserve public consideration.

The first of these experiments related to its city employes. The New York public has not yet forgotten the milk strike, when in November 1921, all the route employes of all the New York milk companies, by concerted action, caused a substantial tie-up of milk distribution in the great city. After a long and very expensive strike, involving great hardship to the community, the company reorganized its employes who had taken the place of the strikers and established with them a personnel organization. It was started on the theory that the employes should be entitled to determine for themselves, so far as possible, just what organization of employes they wanted in the industry of which they were a part.

The employes were, therefore, encouraged to devise their own plan of representation. They did so. This working theory has, the company believes, proved in actual operation more satisfactory than the more usual way of having some expert personnel organizer devise some plan which the organizer believed would be best for the men. Doubtless, such a plan might have, at least theoretically and certainly in technical matters of organization form, many advantages over a plan devised by the employes themselves. However, as the main purpose of such an organization is to create a spirit of cordial relationship and mutual confidence between employer and employe and as the spirit of that relationship is far more important than the details of form, the policy adopted by the company has been, it believes, more satisfactory in that the employes get from the organization not something which somebody else thinks they want, or which may be in advance of their wants, but that which they know they want themselves.

One test of the effectiveness of the employe organization has been this: Before the milk strike and when the New York Milk distributing industry was substantially dominated by a badly managed branch of the Teamsters' Union, the company was in receipt of more or less continuous complaints from patrons of gross and arrogant incivility by employes and a disregard of customers' wishes in matters of service, which seriously impaired the good relations between the company and its customers. The complaint department of the company today, on this score, is practically blank. In place of these frequent complaints of incivil conduct by drivers to customers and mainly to women, the company receives a continuous line of letters from customers commending the courtesy and efficiency of specific employes in the performance of daily tasks. The spirit of this cooperation between the company and its employes has been further evidenced by very considerable reductions in expense occasioned by carelessness and the failure of the drivers to make collections of bottles and to care for the many minor wastes whose aggregate adds to the cost of milk distribution.

This past year the employes' organization requested from the company permission for its members to purchase the common stock of the company. This opportunity was afforded. A scheme under which employes could arrange to purchase stock by deductions from their wages was inaugurated and a very substantial amount of the company's common stock is now in the course of distribution among its employes. This distribution, the company believes, has proved beneficial both to the employes and to the operating efficiency of the service. The company's general plans further consider, as a fixed policy, the elevation from the ranks of its own employes in promotions into the higher grades of the service as an additional encouragement for faithful work. The company is endeavoring to work with its employes to avoid all possible sources of friction and to afford a basis under which arbitration shall in any event take the place of any such strike as that which preceded the present organization of the employes in the Sheffield Cooperative Council. So much for industrial peace in the city end of the business.

The other aspect of industrial peace toward which constructive steps have been taken is that pertaining to the country producers, the 7,000 farmers from whom the company buys its milk. In March 1922, The Dairymen's

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League Cooperative Association presented to all milk buyers, effective April 1, new terms of sale for League milk. The Cooperative Association demanded that their members should be given a preference over non-members in the price which they should receive for their milk and in the marketing conditions under which it should be sold. The price for milk was to be based upon the price at which it was subsequently sold by the distributor. If sold as liquid milk for household use, the milk so sold would carry a higher price. The League demanded that the high-priced milk should be exclusively that of its members. The next highest priced utilization of milk was likewise to be given to their members exclusively and so on until all the milk of all the members of the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association had been sold at the highest possible price. Non-members were then to take what was left. The company refused to accept this proposal or to make any discrimination except on the basis of the quality of milk between one producer and another, and ceased in April 1922 to receive any milk from the Dairymen's League Cooperative Association, which refused to deliver milk to the Sheffield Company on any other terms than those which it had sought to impose. In other words, the cessation of delivery by members of the League was entirely their own step.

Under these conditions the question arose: What should be done with reference to the subsequent representation of Sheffield producers in negotiations for a price for their milk with the company? Should the company seek to keep these producers disorganized and without an effective voice in negotiations for the sale of their milk, and try to bring about a return to the conditions which existed ten years ago? A short-sighted and reactionary policy would doubtless have suggested the desirability of keeping the farmers unorganized just as a short-sighted policy in the city would have resulted in trying to keep the city employes unorganized and to prevent both classes from having any effective voice in expressing their own rights in connection with their own problems. The company did with its country producers what it did with its city employes. It suggested that if the country producers would formulate an organization of their own which should represent what they wanted in the form of an organized authorized body to negotiate for the price of their milk, the company would cooperate with such a body in all matters relating to the sale of their milk. As a result an organization, the Sheffield Producers, was created and has been in effect since May, 1922.

This is no time or place to discuss the so-called cooperative movement. It has many friends. It has, however, a wholly insufficient number of sympathetic, intelligent and courageous critics. Many of these friends have been mislead by the magic of the name cooperative into assuming that anything which contains the word "cooperative" must be progressive, economical and efficient. This theory has been promulgated by politicians and by publicists wholly unfamiliar with the economic problems confronting distribution and production.

Economic problems do not lose their character by changing their names. A cooperative corporation, like any other, must prove by its works, its right to live and to grow. The lack of intelligent outspoken criticism of the cooperative experiments, except from a few highly competent sources like Henry Ford, has meant unnecessary mistakes of policy and enormous losses to producers and to consumers alike, enormous and unnecessary expenses incurred by farmers in many fields from the cotton grower to the milk producer.

THE plan adopted by the Sheffield Producers' Association does not pretend to be final or complete. It simply represents what the Sheffield producers believe they wanted and what with the consent and approval and cooperation of the company they have set upon accomplishing. Some of the results are shown by a brief report to its members which may fairly be summarized. There are so many misleading statistics on milk costs and on the cost of milk service that a statement from a large group of producers operating a plan of their own devising and expressing their satisfaction with it may not be out of place here:

> The Sheffield Farms Company Producers . . . with approximately 7,000 members . . . aims to avoid, by agreement for arbitration, any misunderstandings with its distributors that may lead even for a day to an interruption in the milk supply. Its plan of operation was devised to remove the possibility that children dependent on it for milk might be denied this essential food at any time. . . .
>
> Representatives of the various groups into which the association is divided come to New York city each month, make a price for the following month and then go back to their farms to make milk.
>
> The record shows that not only has the plan operated perfectly, but that the members of this association have received a uniformly higher price than other farmers supplying the New York field, and that the marketing has been conducted and the association operated at a cost so low that it seems a new standard of economy in the field of cooperative marketing.
>
> From January 11, 1924, to December 31, 1924, they sold 600,000,000 pounds of milk to the Sheffield Farms Company. The total tax on the dairymen in the Sheffield Farms Company Producers was $14,763.40—less than one-fourth of a cent per hundred pounds.
>
> On the basis of the returns made by the Sheffield Farms Company Producers during 1924, figures obtained from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture show that these producers received a larger percentage of the consumer's dollar than any other producers of farm products.
>
> The Maine potato grower received 30.3 per cent of the consumer's price. The Washington apple grower received 23.6 per cent. The wheat farmer received 15.35 per cent of the dollar paid for bread. The Minnesota potato man got 20.6 per cent of what the consumer paid. The Wisconsin potato grower received 25.7 per cent of what was paid in the grocery store, while the Michigan grower drew down 22.6 per cent.
>
> The members of the Sheffield Farms Company Producers received in cash returns on the price paid by the consumers for their product in December, 1924, 47 per cent, while the average for the entire year was 42 per cent.

The Sheffield Producers Association does not claim to be the last word on cooperation. It does represent an experiment in fair play which has thus far proved satisfactory to those immediately concerned.

MILK is a necessary of life. It requires unusual expenditures to protect the public health. New York has by general consent the best milk of any great city in the world. The particular company in which these experiments have been made is considered from an operating standpoint in relation to public health one of the most efficient and progressive of modern milk companies. The great city plant which it maintains in Brooklyn is being copied in London after a careful investigation of milk distribution made by British health authorities some years ago. The satisfactory operation of the company requires, however, not only up-

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to-date scientific apparatus for pasteurizing and handling this highly perishable product, but a spirit, back of the mechanism, consistent with a full recognition of its public responsibility. These two experiments in industrial peace and fair dealing are expressions of this spirit not as a final thing, but as an essential part of its full efficiency.

GEORGE W. ALGER

Stock-Buying Employes

MANY corporations are encouraging their employes to become stock-holders. They are trying to overcome the intransigeance in the attitudes of capital and labor which has been a stumbling block to cooperation between management and men. Beyond that, they anticipate that stock-ownership will increase the personal interest of the employes in *their* company, that the desire for dividends will stimulate workers to work harder, to avoid waste, and to stick to their jobs. Strikes, it is hoped, will dwindle in number or cease altogether, when strikes mean the elimination of profits on the workers' investment. The idea is not new. The United States Steel Corporation developed a plan for the distribution of company stock among its employes early in the century. Since the war especially, the movement has grown. How is it working out?

According to a study made by the American Management Association, the usual plan is to offer stock to employes on terms that make direct purchase from the company more attractive than purchase on the open market. Most wage-workers are unfamiliar with the ways of the stock market. The company takes pains to dispel its mysteries. Stock is offered the employes at less than market rating, at par, or less than par, often with the privilege of paying in installments. While in the case of such time payment the company holds the stock until it is fully paid for, dividends are credited to the worker's account from the date of subscription. This helps the worker along. If for any reason the worker should leave the employ of the company before purchase is completed, provision is usually made to refund deposits made on account with interest. Most companies also stipulate that they shall have the right to repurchase stock fully paid for upon the termination of the holder's employment. Plans of this type have been adopted by such companies as the American Light and Traction, the American Rolling Mill, the American Telephone and Telegraph, Eastman Kodak, International Nickel, National Carbon, among others. There are other plans such as that of Sears, Roebuck & Co., which have in them elements of profit-sharing, but where part of the profit to which the employes are entitled is paid in stock. In still others, stock bonuses are distributed to employes, usually as a reward for long and efficient service.

In order to get the workers to take part in a stock ownership plan it is necessary to convince them that direct advantages will accrue to themselves. The point usually stressed as most important is the availability on easy terms of a good investment for their savings with further saving made easy, especially when they can permit the company to deduct a part of their wages toward payment for the stock. Too often, due to the desire to "get rich quick," the little that wage earners are able to save is unwisely invested in "fly-by-night" schemes of all kinds, and is lost. It is claimed that through the dividends of stock in their company the employes will be safe and will be enabled to enjoy fruits of their labor in addition to wages. Furthermore, it is usually suggested that by being "partners" in the enterprise they will in a measure have some control of their jobs. Both the company and the employes will share increased benefits from their common enterprise.

Unfortunately, in actual practice it is seldom that companies have secured the direct benefits anticipated from selling stock to their employes. Increased loyalty, instead of being the usual result, is a rarity. This is due in a measure to the small part each one's achievement plays when compared to the total production of the organization, and to the lack of significance of the income from a few shares of stock in relation to a worker's annual wage. In an article in the last April number of Management and Administration in Manufacturing Industries, O. R. Johnston, vice-president of the National Automatic Teller Corporation of New York city and Utica, says that "of course, most plans are started off with a great hurrah, but it is astounding how quickly the enthusiasm evaporates—and yet the executives of the company maintain a continuous air of gratification with a plan that is virtually defunct." The lack of any positive result from selling stock is also attributable to a feeling that is likely to grow in the purchaser that he has in a measure been duped—that instead of having gained he has suffered harm by having taken advantage of the company's offer.

There is first the question of the investment. Where the stock sold to employes is *preferred* the income, except in cases of complete failure, is fairly secure, even though it be limited. When, however, the stock is *common* there is little security. It is an accepted axiom among investment houses that common stocks are not, except in a very few exceptional cases, to be considered as secure investments, and are always looked upon as inadvisable for persons of moderate means. The ratio of companies that succeed, that is to say, that can continue in business and pay a return on their investment, is very small as compared to those that fail, with a consequence that many more persons are employed by concerns destined to insolvency than by those that are not. Yet many companies that cannot be conscientiously classed with those whose stock is as secure as an investment can be, are among those that have sold and are selling their common stock to their working force. Moreover, it is not unusual to issue a special class of stock for sale to employes which, besides other results, increases the capitalization of the company thus requiring it to make more money to pay more dividends on what not only becomes practically "water," but is often not entitled to consideration until all other classes of investments have received their return. On this account the passing of dividends on employes' stock is not infrequent.

There is also the matter of fluctuation of the market value of the stock. If it rises all is well and good; if it breaks, the employe is likely to feel that he has been robbed, and to suspect that the decline is due to manipulation on the part of the "insiders" who caused the stock to be sold to him. While of course this is seldom really the case, the employe, in his ignorance of business and the hazards of all investments, naturally feels that in recommending the purchase of its stock the company assumed the obligation to maintain its value. There are many such instances, and always the result instead of increased loyalty has been to stir up dissatisfaction among the workers.

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Samuel W. Reyburn, president of Lord and Taylor, a large New York department store, tells of a porter who had rendered long and loyal service. The company instituted a stock ownership plan for the force, and the porter was induced to invest. Soon it was noticed that the old employe had lost interest in his work and had become a constant grumbler. It appeared that he had found need for his money, and that when he had tried to liquidate his holdings, his stock had dropped sharply. His sense of grievance against the company was so great that Mr. Reyburn undertook to have the company buy back his shares at par. All was well for a time, but it was not long before Mr. Reyburn was informed that the old porter was again grumbling. Investigation showed that the stock had risen considerably and the old man now felt that he had been swindled out of profits that were justly his.

There is therefore room to doubt whether from the employe's private economic standpoint the investment of his savings in the company for which he works is sound policy, for not only does there always exist a considerable chance of the cessation of the income on the investment, but this occurs when the company is in a bad financial condition, which is usually preceded by a lack of business, resulting in shutdowns and lay-offs. Thus, by "putting all his eggs in one basket," if his company meets with misfortune, the stockholding employe faces the possible cessation not only of wages but also of the use of his savings.

There is also a psychological factor accompanying stock purchase plans that results in a sense of grievance in the employes. Very frequently the company offering the stock goes to great lengths to urge the employes to take it. Speeches are made, literature is circulated, and foremen and other minor officials make exhortations, so that the employe comes to feel that in order to remain in good standing, to keep his job, and to be considered for promotion, it is discreet for him to invest. Frequently he yields to such pressure against his best judgment as an investor. The consequence is a loss of self-respect and a brooding sense of resentment.

As the employe-stockholder continues to brood, other questions disturb his mind. There is the question of some control of his job, that may have been mentioned by those who urged him to purchase the stock. Of course, if the stock is definitely non-voting, if it is class "B," he should have no such delusions. But if it is an ordinary voting common stock, he soon realizes that the power that he has acquired through the possession of a very few shares amounts to practically nothing at all. And it is apparent that even the combined voting power of all the employe stockholders is without significance, when it is understood that in no scheme of this kind have the workers been allowed to acquire a controlling interest, that it is the majority stock-holders, not the employes, who elect the directors and thus rule.

By far the most important result of all from these plans, both to the worker and to the employer, is one that is rarely openly foreseen or recognized by the company. This is the conflict of interest that is stirred up in the purchaser, resulting in a considerable weakening of his position as a worker. Prior to his investment in stock of the company, his relations with it have been altogether those of a wage-earner, and the price and conditions of his labor have been the subject of his bargaining. As far as his employment goes these are his major interests, and it is liberty to defend or better them, by voice or by action, that the worker has been struggling for since the beginning of the industrial revolution. It is this liberty at which stock purchase plans strike their hardest blow. They make it possible for the management to play two conflicting interests against one another in such a manner as to confuse the worker to a point where he does not know in which direction his best interests lie. All stock ownership plans contain provisions whereby the worker is bound, should he take steps not regarded with favor by his employers, to suffer loss, not in property which he actually owns—the law protects that, but in property, in the form of bonuses and premiums, contingent upon his remaining in the employ of the company but which he comes to believe are properly his as a stockholder. Usually he has come to count so much on these special rewards of ownership that it is a real loss for him not to receive them. And all the employe stock ownership plans are so drawn up that leaving the employ of the company or going on strike results in losing this stake in the property.

In this connection the manager of one of the Sears, Roebuck subsidiaries, Mr. Burman of the King Sewing Machine Company, where the benefits of the plan come only after ten years' participation, said at the 1920 meeting of the Industrial Relations Association of America: "Take an employe who has been with us six, seven or eight years, and who is getting pretty close to his ten year limit. He would not leave under any circumstances, because he will probably have several thousand dollars coming to him at the expiration of his ten-year period."

This conflict of interests in the worker, his wage and working conditions against his savings and withheld earnings, is as dangerous a matter to the labor movement as a whole as it is to the individual. The union can deal only for the worker as a worker, and when the union members are torn between their interest in themselves as workers and their interest in their hoped-for "rewards," the union loses its meaning. Thus, a consideration of the results of the sale of stock to individual employes, under the condition which always attend it, shows failure to accomplish for the employe the ends which it was openly expected to achieve, while it does accomplish an unannounced end in the considerable strengthening of the control of the employer over the working force.

Nevertheless the interest of these corporations that have developed employe stock ownership plans in having their employes acquire a financial stake in the enterprise indicates a significant change in the status of labor. The old master and servant conception which formerly dominated the employment relationship is losing its force. If these plans result in educating wageworkers in the elements of business and financial technique, and especially if they lead them to think of themselves as citizens of industry, they may add an element of concreteness to the term "industrial democracy" which until now has been lacking in the substance of reality.

EDWARD A. NORMAN

TORONTO typographers are reported to have taken a step unique in the history of trade unionism in refusing to accept a boy as an apprentice until he has passed the mental tests provided by the Canadian National Association of Mental Hygiene. The plan was put forward by the Apprenticeship Committee of the local trade union and endorsed by officers of the local trade union organization.

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A NUREMBURG PRINTING SHOP, 1666

Books in Our Alcove

Edited by Leon Whipple

GOD pity the poor case worker in an age like this! All we ask of her is perfection: she must be impeccable, infallible, omniscient. She works by the day at rushing in where angels fear to tread. . . between man and wife, parents and children, neighbor and neighbor, lover and mistress, a cobwebby world of the most delicate and sacred relations. To succeed, all she needs is the wisdom of the serpent, the gentleness of the sucking dove, the skin of a rhinoceros, and the constitution of an ox. Our ideal case worker would be a mingling of Abraham Lincoln, W. Shakespeare and St. Francis of Assisi with a heavy dash of St. Paul and Queen Elizabeth. And just that is hard to get at the price we pay. In connection with this task of looking after the nerves, tempers, lusts, ambitions, jealousies, and illusions of a modern family, we reach the present question: do novels, honest novels about real life, help the case worker on her job?

A Fiction Reading List in the March issue of The Family, by Anna B. Beattie, publicity secretary of the Cleveland Associated Charities, gives a list of eighteen novels in English, with a few sentences about how each one may help the social worker. The Book Committee of the Cleveland Charities adds: "These are not the latest books . . . or what one ought to read . . . but are recommended with enthusiasm." Miss Beattie states her thesis:

> Fiction is pre-eminently productive reading material for the social worker. In the novel one sees human beings in action, one can study the reactions of characters on each other, one can read motives, and approach an answer to that question always with us: "Why do we do what we do?" Unlike the dramatist the writer of the novel may intrude on the action and give us much psychological data; unlike the biographer he may suppress all irrelevant detail . . . . Naturally it is the so-called "psychological novel" which the social worker will find the richest field for cultivation.

The list is provocative, beginning with Sentimental Tommy (anti-toxin for the worker, herself?), including Hugh Walpole's Fortitude and the two Jeremy books, ranging back for Middlemarch and the Ordeal of Richard Feverel, and facing bravely Tess of the d'Urbervilles. Family welfare is not a local issue, apparently, since we find here Rolland's Jean Christophe, Hamsun's Growth of the Soil, Galsworthy's Forsyte Saga, and Louis Couperus's Small Souls. Four Americans make the team—all women! Margaret Deland with Helena Ritchie and the Iron Woman, Edith Wharton with Ethan Frome, Dorothy Canfield with the Brimming Cup and Rough Hewn, Willa Cather with My Antonia. Have no American men written novels that illuminate family life? William Dean Howells and Booth Tarkington might have had honorable mention.

This is a fine list, and the notes on each are far better than conventional book reviews. We admire the work but we'd like to add some more titles! First of all, Samuel Butler. The Way of All Flesh surely gave some insight into the ways of fathers with children, and vice versa. One Honoré Balzac did some excellent studies in family welfare; he even called them the Comédie Humaine. Guy de Maupassant wrote case records of such brevity and dramatic point that they have become classics. Perhaps because he himself was psychopathic he penetrated to almost sub-human depths in cases of sexual disharmonies and soul friction. Read The Piece of String and The Confession. Both

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tragedies might have been prevented by psychiatry. Emma Bovary still teaches her lesson: and with duly censored whispers we suggest that even Rabelais and Boccacio may throw light on certain not rare preoccupations with the flesh. This leads a layman to wonder where in books the unmarried college-bred woman who seems to do much of our case-working can glimpse enough of the reality of sex to be of the greatest service to families lashed and torn by sex and its satellites, from the baby through the senile shadows in corners. She hasn't the spiritual aloofness of the nun. She enters the battle, but knows little of the weapons. The majestic urgency of sex is not to be learned from lyrics, from texts on psychology or biology, and we rather guess, not from novels. The novels do not illuminate sex, rather sex illuminates the novels.

For less serious data, however, there are many source-books. Dreiser leaps to mind. Read Sister Carrie and you'll be a wiser case worker though you may not be able to do any more about things. Dreiser (like lots of these novelists) doesn't solve his own cases very well. No case worker would feel quite successful if she met her problem by having her clients commit suicide, or die of wasting diseases, or just sort o'walk dimly out into "the beyond." Arthur Morrison's Tales of Mean Streets, Thomas Burke's Limehouse Nights, Stephen Crane's Maggie penetrate to spots where the facts breed. They reveal conditions and backgrounds, but too often the essence of their drama and irony is that nothing can be done about things . . . . and that's a bad doctrine with which to set out on a career of tenement-climbing. For adolescent and small-town stuff, Homer Croy and Floyd Dell are useful. Both have remained adolescent, and know the problems of kids who run off into caves, and fall into amours as natural and incomprehensible as the growing corn, or Betelgeuse. Croy's West of The Water Tower, and R.F.D. 3 tell not only how girls go wrong, but rare gift, how they go right again. Mr Croy isn't a case worker, but he is a tender-hearted wise man.

For rebellious youth and the everlasting conflict of the generations we think of Zona Gale, Ellen Glasgow, and Thyra Samter Winslow. In the peculiarly poignant conflict of the Jewish generations, Fanny Hurst will translate some of the emotions of the situation, though I misdoubt her faithfulness to the facts. She has Jewish emotions herself. For running wild with the jazz-mad youths, Scott Fitzgerald is perhaps the best chaperon. He knows about drinking and petting, and recently he has perceived what all case-workers early learn that the why of these among the children is that parents drink and pet first. I'd recommend Fitzgerald's last novel, The Great Gatsby, and John Howard Lawson's play, Processional, to most any case worker who wants to get a sense of how phantasmagoric and insubstantial life and morals appear to the young of our species just now. They supplement parts of Youth in Conflict by Miriam Van Waters.

My suggestions are modern and lesser books than the great uplifting classics of the Cleveland list, but they are perhaps closer to the present facts. Which leads to the question: do you want a novel of mere data, or of spiritual insight and courageous facing of the human soul? This again leads to the question: can any novel really help in this super-human task of adjusting family troubles? Novels by nature seek the dramatic; but case-work often deals with nothing but the monotonous. In fiction there is a premium on the happy ending whereas in case work there is generally no ending at all, but just the sense that by teribble effort you have perhaps given somebody a push along the way. Finally, the facts and language of fiction are under a polite censorship. The worst of the realists write parlor chit-chat compared to what clinics, case studies, and family work must secure as their basic data. The omissions, foreshortenings, ameliorations of the novel seem to me to run the risk of fooling the case worker, rousing false hopes and proposing impossible solutions to over simplified problems.

I wonder too whether it is wise to take all the great healing human stories and making them adjuncts to the clinic. Is nothing to be spared to a weary soul laboring over other people's troubles, by way of a sedative and restorative? Can she not come home and forget her cases in the literature of escape? Reading is the cheapest and easiest mental recreation, and the one in which perhaps most social workers find peace of mind and new beauty after sordidness. Shall we risk selling it for a mess of pottage? Picture the poor case-worker bringing her job home with her in her books, taking it to bed with her in her dreams. . . . . This seems cruel and perhaps dangerous.

Before the School Steps In

THE MENTAL GROWTH OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD, *by Arnold Gessell, Macmillan Co. 447 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD, *by Bird T. Baldwin and Lorle I. Stecher. D. Appleton and Co. 305 pp. Price $2.75 postpaid of The Survey.*

SIGNIFICANT are the similarities and the differences that characterize these recently published studies, one from the Yale Psycho-Clinic, the other from the Preschool Laboratories of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station. Each presents a resumé of the findings gathered in the course of an extensive special investigation, and at the same time each must be recognized as essentially the product of broader and longer-continued experience on the part of the research agencies represented and of the authors individually. Each affords a wealth of informing data of the highest value to workers whose special interest lies in the care and education of the child under school age, and each deserves to be read and pondered by those whose concern is with the child at any age.

As Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Stecher assert, "Four centuries of interest in the preschool child on the part of educational philosophers and casual observers of the activities of young children have resulted in so little scientific information in regard to the development of children, that parents do not usually know until a child meets the tests of school life, whether it is accelerated or average in development." To present tentative standards, physical and mental, for these early years has been the main objective of both studies.

At the Yale Psycho-Clinic fifty children at each of nine age levels, that is to say at three months, six months, nine months, twelve, and eighteen months, at two years, three, four, and five years old, were examined, tested and observed, and the results formulated as a series of tentative norms of development and behavior. This study was continued over a period of six years, and the resulting "schedules," with Dr. Gesell's discussion of them, and of the circumstances of their origin, constitute what might be described as a handbook for clinical diagnosis, were it not for the fact that it is infinitely more. For in the first place, it is a volume that provides amazingly good reading. The author's abounding enthusiasm for his subject is combined with a

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felicity of phrase and a liberal allowance of vigorous comment, as enjoyable as it is stimulating. Then too, the conception of the behavioristic viewpoint that is afforded should be recognized as an important contribution in itself. In Dr. Gesell's consideration of those early beginnings where mentality is so unmistakably part and product of the physical bases of life, many a layman and student will receive his first vivid appreciation of behaviorism. To whatever degree future occasions of physiological fact or experimental technique may serve to modify the behaviorists' credo, the significance of their working methods for the understanding of childhood is here made abundantly evident.

From among many informing passages the following may be selected as fairly illustrative of the author's viewpoint:

> The learning process has become a central and almost staple problem in educational psychology. The bulk of the literature on the subject, however, is occupied with studies of specific forms of skill, and with achievements in the realm of the school curriculum. Much remains to be done in the investigation of the more fundamental and generic aspects of learning—the kind of 'learning' which goes on hourly in fancy, and is biologically bound up with the total phenomena of development. With the growth of psycho-biology, we may expect fundamental studies in animal and infant behaviour which will illuminate the dynamics of personality-formation and the origin of emotional trend. A knowledge of these personality trends is infinitely more important for the understanding of human efficiency than any knowledge we may have regarding expertness and skill.

Less dynamic in its appeal, but of intense interest to the student of objective records is the study from Iowa. During the relatively brief period since the organization of the Preschool Laboratories at the Child Welfare Research Station in 1921, Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Stecher have gathered and evaluated the abundance of statistical data which occupies the major portion of their book. One hundred and five children from two to six years old were enrolled in the three age groups of the laboratory classes. All were included in an intensive program of measurements and tests. Sixteen physical traits were measured monthly in accordance with the admirable program of research developed by Dr. Baldwin in the course of his extensive studies of physical growth.

The experiments with mental tests are described in detail. Among these a certain number had been previously used by other investigators for the experimental testing of preschool children. Others were newly devised to meet the needs of the research program. The authors state their general conclusion that "examinations can be devised to give reliable measures of the mental ability of very young children." As in the experience of other investigators, however, repeated applications of the Stanford-Binet tests were attended with considerable variations in the resulting intelligence quotients. This, in the author's belief, is largely attributable to the young child's handicap in language, and also to the fact that he seldom reacts well in the presence of a stranger. Moreover, the daily experiences provided by the preschool laboratory classes are credited as important factors in the very considerable gains in mental rating shown by many of the children studied. In this the Iowa report confirms the impressions of other workers who have undertaken to provide educational and group experiences for little children.

Certain details of the educational procedure described, however, will raise serious questions in the minds of any readers who may believe that the desideratum for education in these early years does not lie in directing the activities of immaturity as painlessly and as expeditiously as possible into those channels that afford obvious preparation for the techniques and standards of a later period. That this can be done in the case of children who possess the average mentality of the groups studied, "without undue stimulation" and with a very fair degree of success, is accepted, by Dr. Baldwin and Dr. Stecher as sufficient evidence of its desirability. But the reader is perhaps justified in asking whether such an attitude on the part of the investigator, with the inevitably attendant emphasis on "training" may not militate against the ultimate ends of an inquiry in which the study of genetic development must, after all, constitute the real objective.

JEAN LEE HUNT

Cults and Psychoses of Races

RACES, NATIONS AND CLASSES, *by Herbert Adolphus Miller. Lippincott. Philadelphia. 196 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

WELL arranged and simply told, this exposition of "the psychology of domination and freedom" is a valuable addition to the literature of race relations. Professor Miller has long been recognized as an authority on the social history and present conditions of the smaller nationalities of eastern and central Europe. In the earlier years of the world war, while the printing presses of America hummed with the propaganda of the great powers, he was one of the first to interpret to public opinion the suppressed aspirations of these smaller peoples—peoples almost overlooked in some cases even then represented among us in considerable numbers. Equally important was his effort—made possible by intimate association with the leaders of these groups—to help these oppressed peoples to understand each other and themselves, more especially to understand what they had in common in the tasks before them.

From these activities and many intimate studies of specific phases of the problems Professor Miller has now abstracted essential lessons which he presents in the form of general principles. He has elucidated more especially two new conceptions which may be regarded as valuable tools for arriving at an understanding of inter-racial and international relations. One is that of a cultocracy, as a form of domination parallel to autocracy and plutocracy, resulting too as they do, in distinctive pathological phenomena. The other is that of an oppression psychosis as the most virulent of the poisons introduced by cultocracy into the social body. What this psychosis is, how it manifests itself and how it may be remedied are the major themes of this book.

The treatment of the subject is throughout realistic, with many references to the author's personal studies and experiences, and with special chapters on the ways in which the symptoms and effects of cultocracy may be observed in the various small republics of Central Europe, in Ireland and in other parts of the world. The specific relations of American life and policy to these conditions are discussed in such a way as to produce intellectual rather than emotional reactions. That in itself is a great gain. The book is not, however, a cold essay in technicalities. Though he abstains from prescribing a complete treatment for the ills disclosed, the author permits his sympathy with the op-

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pressed peoples and classes of the world to shine through, and the reader is led to share his eagerness to recognize below the strife the essential oneness of human reactions and desires. B. L.

Indifferent Democracy

NON VOTING, *by Charles Edward Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell. University of Chicago Press. 287 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

WITH approximately half of the supposedly qualified voters in the country, for the second consecutive time, refraining from participation in a Presidential election, Non Voting is particularly timely and interesting, if somewhat inconclusive.

Unquestionably, the failure of 30,000,000 adult native or naturalized citizens to cast a ballot in the last election is a striking illustration of the most menacing single symptom in the United States today. Continued increase, in city, state, and national elections, of the stay-away tendency is rapidly making a joke of the theory that the people rule, upon which our political system is based. Already we have passed the stage where public officials in this country are elected by a majority of all those who could and should vote. In most instances they are no longer elected even by a majority of a majority, but actually, as were both Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge, by a majority of a minority. That sort of thing is a practical confession of the failure of the democratic form of government.

Professors Merriam and Gosnell have gathered an extraordinary amount of data. They had exceptional facilities at their command since they used a large number of graduate students of the department of political science at the University of Chicago as investigators. In addition, they "checked up" with election officials, party workers, and party leaders. Their task was thoroughly and conscientiously done. The compilation and analysis of the data are illuminating, interesting, and clear, but not wholly convincing. The authors themselves indicate a source of error in their results for they concede that some of the answers given the questioners by the non-voters were in all likelihood intentionally misleading, and given simply to get rid of the investigator. These misleading answers, the authors believe, constitute only a small percentage of the total. But, while these dubious replies do keep the reader from accepting the statistics as completely verified, such errancy does not undermine their general value for the study of this vital problem.

The book is based on personal investigation of the reasons when some six thousand non-voters in Chicago failed to register or vote in the Mayoralty election of April, 1923. Among the causes listed are illness, absence, disbelief in women's voting, objections of a husband, poor voting facilities, congestion at polls, belief that ballot box is crooked, disgust with one party, disgust with both, ignorance and timidity, fear of loss of wages or business, nursing sick relative, neglect, belief that one ballot counts for nothing, failure of party workers to awake interest, home duties, fear of disclosing age, legal obstalces, general indifference.

The authors found that 2,240 of the 6,098 persons interviewed stayed away because of "general indifference." This means nearly 40 per cent. If their other classifications are scrutinized, it will be seen that many of them could be amalgamated with the "general indifference" class, without conflict. And the conclusion is irresistible, after we get through the mass of facts and analyze the tables presented in the book, that "general indifference" will account not only for 40 per cent of the non-voters, but for fairly close to 75 per cent, and that many of the answers classified under another head are but variations in the individual's expression of indifference.

We are not startled to know that the reason most persons refuse to go to the polls is because they are indifferent to and wholly without interest in politics. That has been the general assumption all the time. This book verifies this assumption in a striking way, and clearly demonstrates that there exists no hidden, mysterious and unsuspected reason so many voters refuse to vote. A number of practical and sound suggestions for removing the minor causes that keep people from the polls are made by the authors, such as appointing better votingplaces, setting more convenient hours, passing absentee voting laws, and the like, but no real suggestion for overcoming the basic reason for the failure of voters to vote is made. The authors can not be blamed for this. If there is any real remedy for indifference, it has not been as yet stated.

Altogether, the book, while presenting no solution of the non-voting problem, does present the facts in such a way as to clarify the situation and establish a firm foundation upon which work toward a solution may be pushed. It is, so far as I know, the first attempt to obtain directly from the non-voter himself, the reasons for his failure to vote. The results of this effort constitute its chief interest and value. FRANK R. KENT

Common Sense on Crime

CRIMINOLOGY, *by Edwin H. Sutherland. Lippincott. 643 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

IT would be hard to conceive of a better handbook for college students in criminology than this erudite and comprehensive work. Writing for the American student, Professor Sutherland cites no authorities but such as are available in English, but his references to foreign sources of information are entirely adequate for his purpose of painting the background of the American scene, while his command of our immense native literature on the subject is most impressive. Writing, too, as a student of the science of society, which has other troublesome problems beside that of the persistence of crime to deal with, our author maintains a commendable steadiness of vision and sanity of judgment.

Thus he tries and judges our traditional legal methods of dealing with the criminal as well as the remedies advocated by reformers solely from the social point of view: Do they or do they not serve the end of protecting society? He is at no pains to conceal his own point of view but his judgments are so tentatively expressed as to invite rather than to foreclose discussion.

In the field of criminological theory, of which at the present time there is a superabundance, Professor Sutherland may be described as a middle-of-the-road man. Lombroso's theory of the born criminal, marked by his unfortunate heredity by anatomical and other physical stigmata of criminality, has indeed been completely disproven. But who knows to what extent the criminal is the result of a defective mental endowment? After an examination of the conflicting evidence our author decides that "there is little to justify a

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conclusion that criminals differ appreciably from non-criminals in mentality."

This work is an effective instrument in the hands of a competent college instructor, and can with equal confidence be recommended to the general reader. In the present period of wide-spread interest and discussion concerning the causes of criminality and the best methods of dealing with it, Professor Sutherland's temperate reasoning on these intricate problems should prove stimulating as well as informative. The book will perhaps have rendered its best service if it drives to despair those of our number who see the problem in such simple terms that they would solve it out of hand by stiffening the penalties and sharpening the procedure of our present system of criminal justice.

One correction should be noted. The prison clearing house at Sing Sing for all state prisoners is still only an aspiration, not yet a reality. It is true the hospital building in which the prisoners are to be examined and classified has been erected, but no provision has been made for putting it to the use for which it was designed.

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

New York School of Social Work

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THE RUN OF THE SHELVES

Books are listed here as received. Many of those mentioned by name only in the classified sections below will be reviewed later.

Foreign and International Affairs

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 1925, *compiled by Dr. Laura H. Martin. Base map, homolosine projection, by Dr. J. Paul Goode. University of Chicago Press. Price twenty-five cents postpaid of The Survey.*

THIS MAP and chart shows the land areas and population of the members of the League of Nations, the mandates, and the non-members. Of the world population, fixed at 1,824,549,714, only 375,258,126 remain outside the League. This graphic outline of the states of the world is extremely interesting to the man-in-the-street, as well as to internationalists, publicists and teachers of government and current events.

THE TRIUMPH OF LORD PALMERSTON, *by B. Kingsley Martin. The Dial Press. 259 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

HACIA LA SOLIDARIDAD AMERICANA, *by Samuel Guy Inman. La Nueva Democracia. 448 pp. Price 85 cents.*

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC AND THE NEW POLICIES OF BOLIVIA, *by Luis Barros Borgnono and others. The Pan American Union. 191 pp. Free.*

Other Books Received

A GIRL OF THE PLAINS COUNTRY, *by Alice MacGowan. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 347 pp. Price $1.75 postpaid of The Survey.*

ANATOLE FRANCE, *The Man and His Work, by James Lewis May. Dodd, Mead & Co. 262 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

FIRST AID TO THE OPERA-GOER, *by Mary Fitch Watkins. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 367 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

DAUGHTERS OF EVE, *by Ellery H. Clark. Dorrance Co. 287 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

TORQUEMADA AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION, *by Raphael Sabatini. Houghton Mifflin Co. 466 pp Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

WHITE JACKET, *by Herman Melville. Oxford University Press, American Branch. 380 pp. Price $.80 postpaid of The Survey.*

A READER'S GUIDE BOOK, *by May Lamberton Becker. Henry Holt & Co. 374 pp. Price $2.75 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE HIGH ROAD TO HONOR, *by Julia Scott Vrooman. Minton, Balch & Co. 299 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

MATERIA CRITICA, *by George Jean Nathan. Alfred A. Knopf. 242 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE TURN OF THE BALANCE, *by Brand Whitlock. The Bobbs Merill, Co. 444 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE NEEDLE'S EYE, *by Arthur Train. Charles Scribner's Sons. 416 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE DEVONSHERS, *by Honore Willsie Morrow. Frederick A. Stokes. 354 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

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COMMUNICATIONS

W. J. Gould

To the Editor: A few weeks ago there came a message over the wires to several people in New York that W. J. Gould of Great Barrington was dead. A forest fire had threatened the sanitarium which for the past ten years has been a Mecca to which hospital social service agencies have turned when all other doors were closed. Mr. Gould fought and conquered the fire as he had conquered many other physical obstacles in the building of his sanitarium. But the heat and exertion had proved too much and as he turned to those who had been helping him, with the words—"I feel so tired," his unconquerable spirit went home to his Master.

The message shocked and stunned all who had come to know this remarkable personality. It seemed almost unbelievable that this man, who with his own strong hands and body had hewn much of the timber that went into his buildings, built roads, laid water lines, ploughed, planted and harvested, while all the time ministering to his patients in a way that won the unqualified approval of such men as Dr. Austin Riggs and Dr. Charles L. Dana, should have succumbed to any physical task.

That Mr. Gould should give all he had to the saving of his place of ministration to his people was but in line with every act of his life. To hundreds of people he had brought light where all was darkness, hope where all was despair. In this day when so much stress is laid, particularly in social work, on machinery and organization, the method of this man was as refreshing as the streams from the hills in which he so largely worked. Without any advertising, without any crying out in the streets, his work became known to practically every hospital in New York. Time after time did he say to magazine and other writers who asked to be allowed to "write up Gould Farm"—"No, if what I am trying to do will not live and grow without that, it is not worth while." Most thoroughly did he believe that as the spirit of Gould Farm entered into the lives of those who sojourned there, so would its gospel be perpetuated.

Mr. Gould will live in the memory of those who knew him as a real apostle of the Master whom he so humbly followed. In the hearts of the people to whom he ministered, he has builded a cathedral which will be as a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid.

W. H. Matthews

New York

Surprises in an Investigation of Birth Control

To the Editor: The greatest surprise of all in connection with the investigation of birth control by the Medical Committee on Maternal Health in New York, to which you give a good deal of space in your issue of March 15, which has just reached us, is the gross inaccuracy and carelessness of the committee as regards its facts.

The following statement was sent to the American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, which published the original report, but this has not yet been given the light of day:

"December 19, 1924.

"Under the title Contraception—a Medical Review of the Situation, a report of the Committee of Maternal Health, published by Dr. R. L. Dickinson in your November issue contains comments on and statements about the work of the Mothers' Clinic, the first British birth control clinic founded by my husband and myself, and the Medical Research Committee of the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress, which are part criticism, but part absolute misstatements that must be corrected. Had I realized that when 'the investigator' came with letters of recommendation from the Committee of Maternal Health the brief time she spent on her 'investigations' would result in statements so grossly misleading and full of error, I would not have wasted even the short amount of my time that she requested. I may say that, at the time, I asked her to write down certain facts and statements but she refused to do so saying that she was a 'trained doctor' and that her 'memory could be relied upon.'

"The whole article contains a variety of statements requiring correction, but the following are the more important. It states that from the Mothers' Clinic, the Walworth Clinic 'has observed nearly sixty failures.' This is flatly untrue and I have the personal assurance of the Hon. Superintendent and Secretary of the Walworth Centre that they have not one single record of failure from my clinic.

"The article then goes on to state that the 'Medical Research Council' (by which is meant the Medical Research Committee of the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress) 'has declined to foster any research.' This is a disgraceful lie. It has not done anything of the sort, but has, so far as its powers go, actively encouraged investigation.

"The statement that my book is written 'with a very complete bias' one can pass over as negligible from one perpetrating statements which are in other matters untrue, as also the remark that the 'New York Clinic has taken the subject up with a research idea which is *novel* in propaganda work.' Our clinic, and the whole of the work of the Society, as well as my own personal work was originated with a research idea, and my book Contraception is the first scientifically handled treatise on the subject in any language."

I trust that in the interest of truth and honesty, your readers will take the above facts into consideration when reading the committee's report. It deeply distresses me that the birth control movement, handicapped as it is by willful obstruction, should suffer under the handicap so needless of carelessness on the part of its supposed "investigators."

Marie C. Stopes

President Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress, London

The Kansas Court

To the Editor: J. M. Landis, in the May 15 issue of The Survey, seems equally to deplore the Supreme Court's interpretation of due process and the effect of its interpretation in the ending of the experiment with compulsory arbitration in Kansas. Many would sympathize with his views as to the former and differ in respect to the latter.

Compulsory arbitration is itself an interference with experimentation rather than the embodiment of pioneering that Mr. Landis envisages. That is why the passing of the Kansas Industrial Court is not mourned by some who might have preferred to have it abolished by the legislature. Mr. Landis would evidently regret its demise through legislative repeal as much as through judicial decision. That is his right, but in thus arguing on social policy, it must be remembered that he is no longer speaking as an expert but as a layman.

John A. Fitch

New York School of Social Work

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Inherited Anarchy

To the Editor: Accustomed to it like others, it is only at super-lucid intervals that the basic character of the prevailing social scheme is newly revealed to me. Living quietly in the suburbs, I have to scan the city daily, that thrives on evil and abnormal things, or attempt to do business in the turmoil of the city, to have the realization freshened.

Social reforms and repairs are necessary and highly commendable: the organizations and publications that devote themselves to the work have my profound regard.

My grievance is with those, otherwise intelligent and worthy, who ignore the pre-historic, and inevitably anarchistic motives, incentives and customs therefrom derived; and tacitly assume the inherited anarchistic scheme to be the unalterable foundation, upon which all social work, industrial and commercial rules and standards must be laid.

The mistake is in some degree pardonable, for there never has been essentially, anything else to build upon.

The philosophy of international trade, by way of example, wherein it is accepted that a nation prospers as it exports wealth in excess of its imports, comes of the anarchistic confusion of corporate and class interests, with the interests of the whole people. It is fondly imagined, even in high legislative circles on the Potomac and the Thames, that the corollary excess importation of alien promises to pay is the importation of foreign wealth. It is, in unchecked practice, an inflation of domestic currency, and a demand on the part of limited commercial groups, made upon the nation for more of its labor, skill and resources: tending toward more export "prosperity" by depletion.

Another tragic phase of the same thing is observed in our indifferent attitude toward the working fellow citizen. It is practically forgotten that he is the market, the only one to be loyally considered; and the ruling impulse is to buy his services at the lowest price, as if he were merely a mechanism requiring an occasional oiling and rubbing and stoking; his purchasing power as a citizen being practically forgotten; as is the general benefit to society of his improved condition and social capacities. Unemployed, he is pitied, helped or passed along as a rather disagreeable incumbrance. The loss to society of his potential trained and inspired services is never computed, even by those who could turn his labor into profits for themselves, and is vaguely realized possibly by the average type of cabinet officer.

The daily story of vice, murder, suicide, robbery; almost wholly the derivatives of this pre-historically anarchist scheme, is merely to be mentioned at this time.

The typical radical charges the whole thing up to "capitalism." And with some reason, while capitalism is sectional and therefore anarchist in its social effects. But capitalism is now, in its larger phases, itself a working form of revolution away from this pre-historic anarchy of ours; mightily successful in itself, with potencies and social finalities yet to be realized in its installation on a national scale: therewith introducing the institution of private property universally, for the first time in recorded history.

A. George

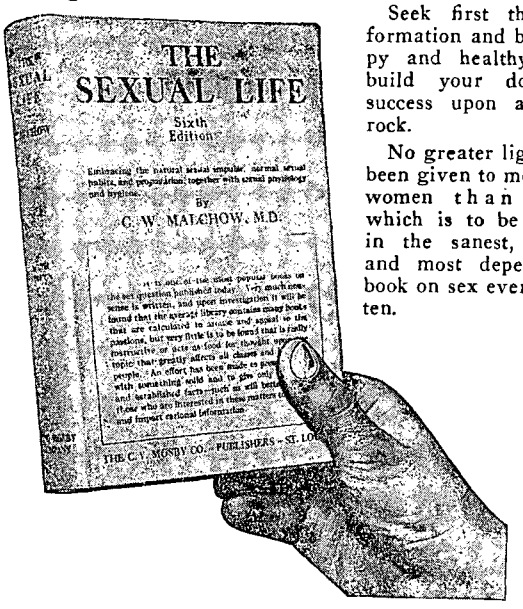
Hollywood, California.

Men of Sorrows

To the Editor: The readers of The Survey may be interested in the following passages from a letter that has just come to me from Russia. It is from Alice Davis who is in charge of the Friends' work at Sorochinskoye in the Province of Samara, where the famine was so bad three years ago.

Know Your Sex Life

What does it profit a man or woman to achieve distinction in science and still not understand the natural laws governing their own sex life.



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After referring to the fact that the children in an orphans' home maintained by the Soviet authorities in Sorochinskoye were transferred last year to the house previously occupied by the Friends' Mission—a change of great advantage to the children—Miss Davis continues:

"Just after Christmas the Volispolkom, on orders from the Center, decided on a still greater change, and one which we agree with them is still for the better: to close the home and distribute the children among local peasants under supervision. At present all the children have been placed out in Sorochinskoye or neighboring villages, and there has been only one case of difficulty, which is a pretty good record. The Volispolkom is following up the children, and those whom we can reach are supervised medically in our clinics. We are very glad indeed that the government has come round to the point of view that life in a family is the normal thing for children, and everyone here is agreed that the change of policy is a wise one. . . .

"You have probably heard that the rye and wheat crops in this part of the world were very unsatisfactory. But our peasants had already learned a very valuable lesson from the famine—to vary their crops and to plant vegetables. We had a wonderful millet crop and were overwhelmed with potatoes and cabbages. In the spring of last year we bought seed potatoes for fifty kopecks a pood for our gardens; in the fall the price dropped to ten kopecks. This means that practically everyone has *casha* and potatoes and cabbage soup, so that the minimum of existence is assured. We still have to reckon, however, with the medical after-effects of the famine and the malaria epidemic. This problem is a hundred-fold complicated by the ignorance of the peasants and by the activities of the village *'babkas'* (grandmothers) who act as midwives and doctors for most of the people.

"Beside medical treatment and health education we are also taking care of about a thousand undernourished and anaemic children in village kitchens. The overhead expense of this is very small, since the kitchens are run in connection with already-existing clinics, and the supplies are nearly all furnished by our own gardens and the mill which we started last fall in Sorochinskoye. In the few villages where we are working, therefore, there is very little serious need. In the others, the groups for whom we are caring—the orphans and the children of poor families—are suffering a great deal, but we can't do anything about it with our present budget."

Miss Davis closes her letter with a rough translation of a song sung by the children in Sorochinskoye. The translation runs as follows:

Find for me a dwelling-place,
In some corner I have never been
Where the Russian peasant
Does not lament and groan.
He laments in the fields, on the roads;
He laments in the gaol, in exile,
In the mines, in his chains of iron.
He groans in his barns, under hay-stacks,
Beneath his wagon at night on the steppe.
He laments in his own poor hut,
Unrejoiced by the light of God's sun.
He laments in the farthest small village
At the entrance of office and court.
On the Volga—whose lament echoes
Over the great Russian river?
The towers along the tow-path,
Their lament we call a song.
Volga, Volga, in the floods of spring
You do not so fill the fields,
As the great sorrow of the people
Overflows our land.

One wonders whether there are any peasants in the world who have suffered as have these peasants of the Volga.

FRANCES FISHER KANE

Philadelphia

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SOCIAL WORK SHOPTALK

ADD to conferences overseas: International Schools of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: Thonon, France, August 14-28; Glücksburg, Germany, September 30 to October 13. For information concerning the former, address Andrée Jouve, 25 rue de Lille, Paris; for the latter, Gertrud Baer, Knesebeckstrasse 56 II, Berlin W 15.

THE NEW YORK State Conference of Charities and Correction has already announced itself for next December 8-11 in New York city. Its president is the Rev. Robert F. Keegan, 477 Madison Avenue, New York city; its secretary, Richard W. Wallace, Drawer 17, The Capitol, Albany, N. Y. Even more forehanded is the announcement of an American Health Congress, sponsored by the National Health Council and its component parts, to be held in Atlantic City during the week of May 17, 1926. All the headliners in health will be there and the Steel Pier has been engaged for headquarters and meetings. The American Nurses' Association, the N. O. P. H. N., and the National League of Nursing Education will hold their biennial meeting in Atlantic City that same week, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs will meet directly afterward.

JOHN D. WANSOR died in Denver on March 21. A small group of friends, who had worked with him in New York, came together on March 25 in the Russell Sage Foundation Building to testify to their appreciation of his noble service. Owen Lovejoy, who presided at the informal meeting, Mark McCloskey, and Mrs. John M. Glenn spoke of what it had meant to them individually to be associated with him, and to learn through day by day contact how fine were his ideals, how sane and sympathetic his relations with his fellows, how truly humane his efforts in behalf of other people, and how instinctive and ready the flow of his humor.

Ten years before Mr. Wansor came into social work on a professional basis, he had had the advantage of training for library work under a great librarian, John Cotton Dana. Any one thrown with Mr. Wansor knew that he was an avid reader, and that the spring of his idealism was fed continuously by his rapid perusal of books of social and spiritual importance. His love of men led him away, however, from scholarly occupation. Before he became committed to professional social work for the homeless, he had traveled with men who knew what it was to be adrift. This experience, reinforced by five years of work with social organizations in Denver, made his contributions of outstanding worth when after the armistice he enlisted in the Home Service of the Red Cross, first as superintendent of the after care department of the New York County Chapter and later as a field worker for the Atlantic Division. His co-workers, many of them new recruits to social work, were inspired by his example as well as given practical lessons in wise befriending of disheartened and demoralized men.

It was fitting that Mr. Wansor's last piece of social service should have been in behalf of working children. His understanding of the handicaps, which had served to drive many of the migrants he had known on to the road, made him peculiarly eager to prevent the exploitation of young boys and girls. The National Child Labor Committee, through its field service, gave his chivalrous nature the kind of opportunity he always craved.

THE GIRL SCOUTS have announced a series of eleven "national training schools for scout leaders" for the summer of 1925. These will be held in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Georgia, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Texas and California. The training courses will last from two to four weeks; the activities will be both practical and theoretical; and the training will cover the duties of directors, leaders, managers and teachers of the various forms of "campcraft" and nature study. This program has been gradually built up, three of these "national schools" holding their first sessions this summer.

AT A RECENT meeting attended by the headworker and board president of every settlement house in the city, John L. Elliott of Hudson Guild was elected president of the United Neighborhood Houses of New York city, to succeed Gaylord S. White. The honorary president is Judge Thomas C. T. Crain.

FRED. E. HILTON, formerly secretary of the Brockton, Mass., Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed secretary-director of the New Bedford Central Council of Social Agencies, and Community Chest, and H. T. King becomes executive secretary of the Nashville Community Chest, succeeding L. C. Connell, who recently resigned to devote his time to child welfare work.

THE NEW YORK HEART Association has moved its office to 244 Madison Avenue, New York city, the address of the New York Tuberculosis Association, and announces the appointment of Harry H. Hopkins, director of the latter organization, as its acting executive secretary.

THE VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT Bureau in New York city took advantage of May 1 to shift itself from 118 East 24 Street to 336 East 19 Street

IF YOU HAVE an idea for a bang-up movie on community social work, shoot it to Pierce Williams, American Association for Community Organization, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, or to Mary Swain Routzahn, secretary of the Committee on Publicity Methods in Social Work, 130 East 22 Street, New York City. Will H. Hays has made the unsolicited offer to place the resources of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors organization at the services of the American Association in a joint effort to produce a film which community chests the country over could use locally in their annual money-raising campaigns. What is needed now is a big idea. Assistance may be expected from St. Louis, where a movie trailer of Mary and Joe, charges of the Children's Aid Society, happily at play in their foster homes, is being shown in the motion picture houses through the cooperation of the Motion Picture Exhibitors' League. This trailer is the first of a series which will show the work of the member agencies of the Community Fund.

RHODE ISLAND has joined the company of states with commissions on children's laws, and members appointed by Governor Pothier pursuant to the act passed at the 1925 session of the General Assembly have been organized with Frederick Rueckert, Judge of the Sixth District Court, as chairman. Ada L. Sawyer has been named as executive secretary, and all communications to the Commission should be addressed to her at 403 Turk's Head Building, Providence, Rhode Island.

EUGENE T. LIES is discussing the leisure-time problem and many of its ramifications at national and state conventions of organizations interested in civic and social problems, by arrangement with the Playground and Recreation Association, of which he remains a special representative.

MARY W. DEWSON, recently associated with the National Consumers' League and the author of its factual brief in support of the District of Columbia minimum wage law before the United States Supreme Court, has become secretary of civic activities of the New York Women's City Club.

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A BASIS FOR MUSIC IN THE WORK-STUDY-PLAY SCHOOL. By Will Earhart. City School Leaflet No. 17, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington. Price 5 cents.

THE COMMUNITY CHEST MOVEMENT. By C. M. Bookman, American Association for Community Organization. 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

COMMUNITY FORCES, A STUDY OF THE NON-PARTISON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN SEATTLE. By R. D. McKenzie. Reprinted from The Journal of Social Forces, University of Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

THE INDIANA BULLETIN OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION No. 137. The Board of State Charities of Indiana, Room 404, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES OF INDIANA. Room 404, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE JEWISH BOARD OF GUARDIANS. Legislative Document No. 87. 356 Second Avenue, New York City.

1924 INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The International Sunday School Council of Religious Education, 1516 Mallers Building, 5 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Price $1.00.

COOPERATION AGAINST SECURITY FRAUDS. By E. H. H. Simmons. Committee on Library, New York Stock Exchange, New York City.

STUDENT LOAN FUNDS. Harmon Foundation, Inc., 140 Nassau Street, New York City.

NUTRITION WORK FOR PRESCHOOL CHILDREN. By Agnes K. Hanna. Bureau Publication No. 138, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington.

HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN MEET ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE PULP-WOOD REQUIREMENTS. By Earle H. Clapp and Charles W. Boyce. Department Bulletin No. 1241, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Superintendent of Documents, Washington. Price 15 cents.

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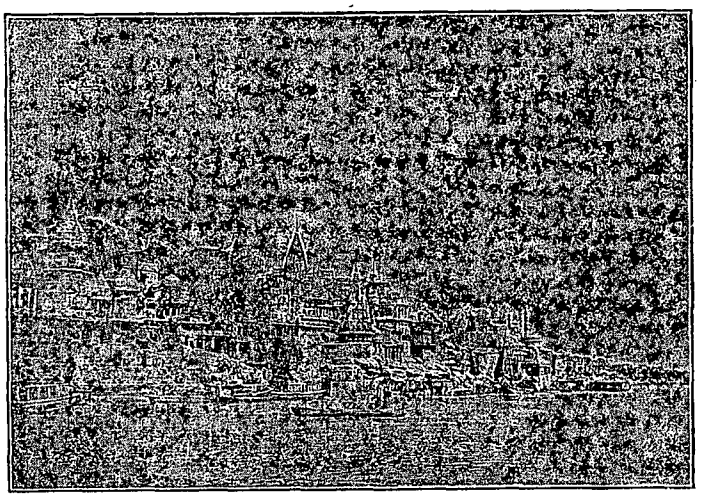

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